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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LUTHER'S CONCEPTION OF TERRITORIAL AND NATIONAL LOYALTY <i>Harold J. Grimm</i>	79
WALTON'S REDACTION OF HOOKER <i>Frederic E. Pamp, Jr.</i>	95
MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SPRING MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, APRIL 23-24, 1948	117
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, APRIL 23, 1948	119
BOOK REVIEWS:	121
WIEAND, ALBERT CASSALL: <i>Gospel Records of the Message And Mission of Jesus Christ</i>	John W. Bailey
GRANT, ROBERT M.: <i>The Bible in the Church</i>	Morton S. Ensilin
BARNES, ERNEST WILLIAM: <i>The Rise of Christianity</i>	Henry J. Cadbury
SRAWLEY, J. H.: <i>The Early History of the Liturgy</i> ..	Robert M. Grant
MCNEILL, JOHN T.: <i>Books of Faith and Power</i>	Edwin E. Aubrey
GOODMAN, ABRAM VOSEN: <i>American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial Times</i>	Warren Griffiths
BRYDON, GEORGE MACLAREN: <i>Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew</i>	Alexander C. Zabriskie

CONTENTS

HYMA, ALBERT: <i>Albertus C. Van Raalte, and His Dutch Settlements in the United States</i>	Raymond L. Hightower
MILLMAN, THOMAS R.: <i>Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec</i>	W. E. Garrison
ZABRISKIE, ALEXANDER C.: <i>Bishop Brent: Crusader for Christian Unity</i>	Henry Smith Leiper
RIGHTMYER, NELSON WAITE: <i>The Anglican Church in Delaware</i>	William C. Walzer
COULTER, E. MERTON: <i>The South During Reconstruction 1865-1877</i>	Winthrop S. Hudson
RICE, ANNA V.: <i>A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association</i>	John W. Brush
FERM, VERGILIUS, Ed.: <i>Religion in the Twentieth Century</i>	J. Allen Cabaniss
POPE, LISTON and others: <i>Labor's Relation to Church and Community</i>	Franklin H. Littell
GREEN, EVARTS B.: <i>Church and State</i>	
KLINGBERG, FRANK J.: <i>A Free Church in a Free State</i>	Conrad Henry Moehlman
WEAVER, RICHARD M.: <i>Ideas Have Consequences</i>	Herbert W. Schneider
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BRYSON, LYMAN; FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS SIMOLOM; MACIVER, R. M.; Eds.: <i>Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture</i>	Umphrey Lee
BLEGEN, THEODORE C.: <i>Grass Roots History</i>	Leland H. Carlson
WIEAND, DAVID J., Ed.: <i>The Church Today and Tomorrow</i>	Robert Friedmann
AULÉN, GUSTAF: <i>Church, Law, and Society</i>	Conrad Bergendoff
HARDY, E. R., Ed.: <i>Orthodox Statements on Anglican Orders</i>	Roy W. Battenhouse
STARR, EDWARD C.: <i>A Baptist Bibliography: Section A</i>	Gaylord P. Albaugh
BOOK NOTICES	151
ARTICLES DEALING WITH CHURCH HISTORY FROM RECENT PERIODICALS	
<i>Compiled by M. M. Hutchins and J. H. Nichols</i>	152
AMONG THE MEMBERS	
<i>Edited by Robert Hastings Nichols</i>	164
IN MEMORIAM	167
LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY	170

LUTHER'S CONCEPTION OF TERRITORIAL AND NATIONAL LOYALTY

HAROLD J. GRIMM

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The Luther renaissance of our century was in large part a consequence of the determination of German scholars to find an explanation for the debacle of their nation following the First World War. For this reason the attitude of the first truly German genius of modern times toward the German territorial states and the Holy Roman Empire has been a matter of primary concern. This concern was intensified by the resurgence of German nationalism under the totalitarianism of the National Socialists who set about to interpret the life and work of every important historical figure of Germany in the light of the new national faith. That German scholars will again study Luther's writings for the purpose of finding hope and inspiration after the catastrophic consequences of the Second World War is already indicated by the frequent references to the importance of religion in Germany's historical evolution.¹

Although the Reformation research of the last half-century, in the United States as well as in Europe, has led to widely divergent conclusions with respect to Luther's views concerning the state, progress toward a more realistic understanding has been made by relating these views to his strong religious convictions, which alone explain the inconsistencies in his pronouncements upon what were to him peripheral matters; which alone account for the fact that many millions of people still carry his name, whether they are democratic liberals, socialists, monarchists, or even totalitarians. In the opinion of many liberal Protestants and Roman Catholics, he is the "founder of the modern state" in which the "priceless blessings of liberty and the rights of conscience" are "recognised, enjoyed, and guaranteed,"² the forerunner, both in word and action, of

1 Cf. Friedrich Meinecke, *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Zürich and Wiesbaden, 1946), especially 151-177.

2 Luther Hess Waring, *The Political Theories of Martin Luther* (New York and London, 1910), 281.

modern individualism.³ The Marxian socialists, on the other hand, consider him an opportunist, a spineless courtier who joined the princes in opposition to the peasants when the cause of the latter seemed hopeless.⁴ In the eyes of the enthusiastic supporters of Hitler, as well as of many enemies of Germany during the war, he was the "prophet of the German people" who opposed democratic individualism and parliamentary government, "preached to his nation respect for the great leaders chosen by fate, and demanded a national Führer."⁵ And for some German scholars of our day his political attitude and utterances can be interpreted only in the light of the "wing-beats of dark demonic powers," those transcendental forces which operate in man and nature to confuse good and evil.⁶

That Luther's pronouncements on political matters are capable of such a great variety of interpretations emphasizes the following salient facts, which must be recognized before any further progress can be made in evaluating his political significance in the world of today: first, that his chief concern was a religious one, centered in faith in the grace of God which saves the believer and is witnessed alone in the Bible; second, that this new relationship of the individual with God implies an obligatory relationship of the individual with his fellow man; third, that every person, whether layman or priest, subject or prince, is charged with the duty of spreading this gospel; and fourth, that in all other matters his views are influenced ex-

3 Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers: Luther—Descartes—Rousseau* (New York, rev. ed., 1942), 14.

4 Karl Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation* (London, 1897), 128; *idem*, "Die Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus," *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus*, I, part one (Stuttgart, 1895), 250; W. Zimmermann, *Grosser deutscher Bauernkrieg*, ed. by Wilhelm Blos (Stuttgart, 1891), 629-632.

5 Rudolf Thiel, *Luther* (Berlin, 1935-1936), 2 vols., II, 347-348. For other accounts written from the National Socialist point of view, see Otto Scheel, "Evangelium, Kirche und Volk bei Luther," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, 50-51 (Leipzig, 1934); *idem*, "Der Volksgedanke bei Luther," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 161 (1940), 477-497; Hans Leisegang, *Luther als deutscher Christ* (Berlin, 1934); Arno Deutelmöser, *Luther, Staat und Glaube* (Jena, 1937). For a bitter and hostile account, see Peter F. Wiener, *Martin Luther, Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor* (London, n.d.). William Montgomery McGovern, *From Luther to Hitler* (Boston, 1941), confines his criticism of Luther largely to his freeing the state from all control of the church and permitting the territorial princes to control the church (30-35).

6 Alfred Weber, "Unsere Erfahrung und unsere Aufgabe," *Die Wandlung* (November, 1945), as quoted in Hoyt Price and Carl E. Schorske, *The Problem of Germany* (New York, 1947), 132. Cf. Gerhard Ritter, *Luther, Gestalt und Tat* (Munich, 1943), 260, in which he refers to the "Daemonie der Macht" in the conflicts of the late Middle Ages.

clusively by his desire to apply the experiences and loyalties of primitive Christianity to the problems of his day.

Luther's great religious significance does not consist primarily of breaking the hold of medieval Christianity over the individual and preparing the way for the enlightenment and the modern secularization of culture. Voltaire realized this long before it was pointed out by Ernst Troeltsch. At no time, not even in the early years of his reforming activities, was the German reformer conscious of fighting for the right of every Christian to believe as he pleased. Even his doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers does not imply that every Christian, as his own priest, can believe and act as he wishes, for he always maintained that the natural tendency of man is evil; therefore he cannot, as a "free personality," will or reason to do good. The modern conception of toleration had no place in his thought, for he knew of only one truth, namely the truth revealed by God, which was binding on all men. The basic dogma which differentiated him from the Roman Catholicism of his day was his conviction that faith was a personal matter, a belief that the individual could be saved only by standing in a direct, personal relationship to God, as he did when he discovered for himself the importance of justification by faith alone.

However, Luther insists in his *Treatise on Christian Liberty*⁷ that the Christian, freed from priestly tyranny and the canonical law, freely places himself under God's law and, as a priest, binds himself to his fellow men in love and service; that, as a member of "the communion of saints," he is never alone in this world, especially in times of crisis. It was this conviction which gave Luther the courage to defy both the papacy and the empire and which gave Lutheranism its dynamic character in the sixteenth century. Believing that he had revived the Christianity of the early church, he did not hesitate to apply its doctrines and practices to the political and other conditions of his day.

Attitude Toward Church and State

The new church which Luther constructed was, like the early church, a body of baptized members, not the invisible communion of saints. And he urged the members of his visible

⁷ *Works* (Holman ed.), II (1916), 301-348. Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, "Luther and the Reformation," *Theology Today*, III (October, 1946), 314-327.

church not only passively to endure their governments and other institutions created by God, but to improve them according to their means and stations in life. He still clung to the Augustinian doctrine of the two kingdoms, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world,⁸ but he did not accept the theory of the two swords which gave the clergy authority over both the church and the government, for he repeatedly stated that the Word of God ruled the kingdom of God, reason the kingdom of the world. On the other hand, he did not thereby completely separate church and government, as some recent scholars have maintained,⁹ for he believed that they were both parts of the *corpus Christianum*. Thus the government must use its *potestas gladii* to protect the church by curbing evil.¹⁰ Moreover, he charged every Christian with the duty of carrying out his Christian obligations to the best of his abilities. The Christian ruler, "God's sword on earth," was in no circumstances relieved of his responsibilities toward God and man. He must, above all else, remove every obstacle to the free preaching of the Word of God.

It is obvious that Luther, who was first of all a theologian and a preacher, never developed a consistent political philosophy and knew little about the theories underlying the formation of national states in western Europe. To him the states were still simply governments (*Oberkeiten*), supervised by rulers and officials. He always addressed himself to these rulers as a Christian pastor, admonishing them to do their Christian duties. When asked by his table companions in 1540, whether preachers could punish the government, he answered,

Yes, by all means! Even if it [the government] is created by God, He has retained the right to punish vice and every evil thing. Therefore one must punish the secular rulers if they permit the possessions of their poor subjects to be ruined and plundered by usury and bad management. But it is not within the rights of a preacher to prescribe laws and determine the just price of bread and meat. In general, he must teach every one to do diligently and faithfully what God has commanded him to do in his office.¹¹

8 Based on Romans xiii, I Cor. xii, and I Peter, ii. Cf. Ernest Schwiebert, "The Medieval Pattern in Luther's Views of the State," *Church History*, XII (June, 1943), 3-22. Edgar M. Carlson, "Luther's Conception of Government," *Ibid.*, XV (December, 1946), 257-270.

9 Cf. Walter Köhler, "Luther und das Luthertum in ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Auswirkung," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, 50-51 (Leipzig, 1933), 102. Opposed to this view is Gerhard Ritter, *Die Weltwirkung der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1941), 78-79.

10 *Werke* (Weimar ed.), VI, 408-410.

11 *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), V, 5258.

Moreover, he made it clear that "The government should honor the Gospel, care for it, and hold it in high esteem, for it [the Gospel] furthered and preserved it and ennobled it both as a state [*Stand*] and as an office [*Amt*], so that the rulers now know what their duties are and can carry out their secular functions with a clear conscience."¹²

Nevertheless, while Luther demanded that rulers govern as Christians, he consistently limited the scope of their powers to such matters as the administration of church property and the appointment of personnel. They were not to determine doctrinal matters. "For God can not and will not permit anyone to have power over the soul except Himself. . . . That we wish to make clear to our nobles, princes, and bishops, that they realize what fools they are if they wish to compel the people to believe thus and so by their laws and commands."¹³ The power to remit and retain sins according to John xx, 23, in other words, the spiritual government, "should be kept as far apart from secular government as heaven is from the earth."¹⁴ When the rulers carried out Luther's demand that they proceed vigorously against the Anabaptists, they punished them legally as revolutionists and disturbers of the peace, not as heretics.

By thus definitely limiting the powers of the secular government with respect to religious matters, Luther cannot be held responsible for the rise of totalitarianism. It is equally unjust to accuse him of setting up double standards for the Christian ruler—one for him as a Christian, another for him as a ruler—thereby encouraging the growth of royal absolutism, as Machiavelli had done. No theologian ever spoke more fearlessly or in sharper terms to rulers whom he considered remiss in their Christian duties.

There is, moreover, no evidence to show that Luther wished to prescribe one or another form of government. He demonstrated his lack of interest in political reform on numerous occasions. When the princes attempted to use him as an instrument for strengthening their position in imperial affairs at the Diet of Worms in 1521 and urged him to make religious concessions on their behalf, he courageously refused. Ulrich

¹² *Ibid.*, III, 2910 (1533).

¹³ *Werke* (Weimar ed.), XI, 262.

¹⁴ *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), VI, 6672.

von Hutten had no success in arousing him to action in support of his national program. Nor would he personally have anything to do with the many political manipulations of the princes in later years.

As a religious leader, Luther struck out boldly for religious reform, but he always taught obedience to the government in power, despite the tremendous pressure frequently brought to bear upon him. Even in his open letter *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*¹⁵ he voiced only those political grievances frequently uttered at the imperial diets for decades and proposed only legal methods for effecting changes. He firmly believed that the free preaching of the Gospel was much more important than any other consideration—a conviction which occasionally proved embarrassing to him, but which accounts for the fact that Lutheranism spread to and flourished in countries other than Germany and served as an inspiration for other Protestant bodies.

Every statement of Luther on political matters shows that he was not concerned with the form of government, but with the attitude of those who governed, just as he was concerned with the attitude of Christians in all walks of life. He never tired of demanding of the rulers that they suppress the natural inclination to seek power for power's sake and that they govern according to the Ten Commandments and the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Even though he realized that few rulers measured up to such standards, he never ceased impressing them with their responsibilities to God with respect to their treatment of their subjects and denouncing the struggle for unlimited power as the work of the devil. He frequently stated that history was full of examples which proved that God punished and dethroned selfish rulers, but that he prospered those who, according to Proverbs xvi, 32, controlled their natural inclinations. He once said, "I should certainly permit Scipio, the honored hero, a place in heaven, for he could rule well. To conquer one's self and break and direct one's own spirit is the highest and most praiseworthy victory."¹⁶

Even though Luther held the rulers responsible to God for the treatment of their subjects, he evolved no theocratic con-

¹⁵ *Works* (Holman ed.), II, 61-164.

¹⁶ *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), II, 1762 (1532); V, 5540 (1542-1543).

ceptions of government, as Calvin did, but insisted that the rulers possessed complete authority to protect the good and punish the evil, not only by divine, but by natural, law. He stated that "It can certainly be proven that government is founded in the Fourth Commandment, for obedience is necessary, as are the power and authority of parents." When, however, parents can no longer control their children, "natural law and reason show that they must have guardians to help raise them. Then the government must be the guardian. Therefore the emperor is the guardian of all parents."¹⁷ Moreover, because man is born in sin, the government must have the power to punish, even the power of capital punishment. And because evil forces from without often threaten a land and its people, as the Turks did in his day, the ruler must have armies and, if necessary, engage in wars. When the government punishes evil and carries on a war in a righteous cause, it is doing God's work. "For Saint Paul says in Romans xiii (4), 'He beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil,' and to protect the good. When the government punishes, God himself does it."¹⁸

In view of the fact that Luther considered the state a divine institution which exercised authority over man's body, property, and actions, his belief that every person, no matter what his calling or position in society, owed absolute obedience to the rulers, follows as a natural conclusion. His consistency in this respect was shown beyond a measure of doubt in his writings prompted by the Peasants' Revolt¹⁹ and his refusal to give religious sanction to the contemplated military resistance against the Emperor on the part of the Lutheran princes.²⁰ Resistance to established government could be permitted only if the rulers attempted to act in the sphere reserved for the church. However, since Luther was interested above everything else in the preservation of the Gospel, in the preaching of the "pure doctrine," he permitted—and even encouraged—the ruler to take a hand in religious matters during serious crises. But he insisted that at

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 415 (1532).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 2910 (1533). Cf. also his treatment of the question, "Ob Kriegsleutte auch ynn seligem stande seyn künden," *Werke* (Weimar ed.), XIX, 623-662.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 291-361; 386-401.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 208; Wilhelm M. de Wette and Th. K. Seidemann, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken* (Berlin, 1825-1828, 1856), 6 vols., VI, 127; *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), IV, 4380, 4342. Cf. Schwiebert, "The Medieval Pattern in Luther's View of the State," 19-21.

such times the ruler temporarily served in the capacity of a bishop, a *Notbischof*.²¹

Luther believed that God had given rulers the "power of the sword" because of original sin and man's natural inclinations toward evil. On the other hand, he never held that man was an incorrigible beast, for he never gave up the hope that the free preaching and teaching of the Gospel would make men sincere and free Christians. Therefore he charged the government, which had the means, to provide good preachers and teachers, as well as to look after the general welfare of its subjects. Despite the fact that he did not favor the unlimited expansion of such functions in the territorial consistories, particularly in matters dealing with faith, he permitted them to develop and therefore is in part responsible for the role which the ruler came to play in religious and educational affairs as the most important Christian in the state.

Territorial Loyalty

Luther's conception of territorial and national loyalty must be evaluated on the basis of his attitude toward the church and government, not on the basis of the subsequent actions of the German rulers in defiance of his convictions. His greatest achievement in political, as in social and religious, matters lay in the fact that he infused the institutions inherited from the Middle Ages with a new spirit.²² But he never expressed a desire to revolt against them.

That the Protestant territorial princes of Germany eventually gained full control of the church, that they encouraged doctrines exalting "ruthless force in the service of militarism and nationalism," was not the consequence of Luther's "gloomy views of human nature" or of "his extremely violent temperament and combative coarseness," which found expression in pamphlets written during the excitement over the Peasants' Revolt or during other crises which threatened to overwhelm the free preaching of the Gospel,²³ but of powerful

21 Cf. Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, I (Tübingen, 1923), 315-318.

22 Gerhard Ritter, *Luther, Gestalt und Tat* (Munich, 1943), 236.

23 Frederick Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics* (London, 1944), 130. Cf. Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943), with a foreword by Hans Kohn, where one finds on p. 20 the following amazing statement: "Luther kept himself and Protestantism in

political forces over which he had no control. He frequently expressed his irritation over the fact that the princes and their advisers considered his views in political matters impractical.

Throughout western Europe territorial rulers had been developing strongly centralized governments long before the Reformation period. To enhance their authority and power, they not only sought to weaken the influence of the church with respect to finances, canonical law, and the appointment of important ecclesiastical officials, but by actually exerting an increasing control over the church in their respective lands. Whereas the German king and emperor could not emulate his fellow rulers in this respect, the German princes were eminently successful. The creation of territorial churches of the princes in Germany had proceeded to such an extent by 1500, that no political or ecclesiastical force was strong enough to check it.²⁴

The German historian, Joseph Lortz, in one of the most scholarly and objective accounts of the Reformation to come from the pen of a Catholic writer, is inclined to believe that the German territorial princes were in the last analysis responsible for the break with Rome. "In this struggle," he writes, "which should have become a struggle concerning the purification of Christianity, a religion of the spirit, according to its courageous beginnings (in Luther's struggle with his conscience), the big issue, whether an entire territory should adhere to the old faith or embrace the new, was in no single instance determined by essential ethico-religious differences."²⁵ The ultimate decision, he maintains, rested with the princes who, with few exceptions, were motivated primarily by other than religious convictions. Not even the Catholic princes, who were in the majority in the imperial diets, opposed Lutheranism consistently. For example, in the Diet of Speyer in 1526 they decided to take religious matters into their own hands and demonstrated a desire to reform their own churches by proposing communion in both kinds, marriage of the clergy, the use of German in the sacraments of baptism and communion, abolition of the mass, and interpretation of the Bible solely through the Bible itself.

good favor with his Saxon prince [*sic*] by accepting the latter's right to two legitimate wives at the same time. By helping Protestantism at a critical time, he thus became an important factor in German national history."

²⁴ Justus Hashagen, *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation* (Essen, 1931), 558.

²⁵ Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1939-1940), 2 vols., I, 363. Cf. also 262-263; II, 274-275.

The opposition of the princes to Charles V's attempt to fashion a new Empire along Renaissance lines²⁶ was accentuated, but certainly not caused, by the rise of Lutheranism. To the age-old cry of "away with Spanish (or French) servitude" were added the new watchwords "Gospel" and "liberty," both designed to strengthen their autonomy. After they had put down the formidable revolt of the peasants without the aid of the Emperor, they were in no mood to accede to his demands when he was able, finally, to devote all his attention to the German problem. The Protestant princes were even ready to carry their opposition to the point of war and to sacrifice German interests as a whole to Henry II of France in order to gain allies for their cause. The principle *Cuius regio eius religio*, which was accepted at the close of the Schmalkaldic War, had already been accepted in fact at the Diet of Speyer in 1526.

It was difficult for Luther to understand such a use of his Gospel for reasons of state. When certain crass features of it came to his attention, his wrath knew no bounds, and he charged the princes, but particularly their jurists and advisers, with serving the devil. He once complained that "All courts and princes must conform themselves to the jurists, follow and obey them; what they declare to be right must be right, as they see it, even if it is wrong."²⁷

Luther's chief objection to the jurists was their general inclination to interfere in religious matters. He had originally hoped that the free preaching of the Gospel would be so effective that congregations of sincere and active Christians could handle all their own affairs, both locally and in regions, with little or no supervision on the part of the government. However, the Peasants' Revolt, the excesses of the fanatics, and his increasing disappointment over the actions of his own congregation in Wittenberg forced him to turn to the princes for help in maintaining order and uniformity.²⁸ It was for these reasons that he permitted the use of the visitation (1527), which was designed to ascertain the wishes of the individual congregations throughout Saxony, but which the elector used to pro-

²⁶ Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V*, tr. by C. V. Wedgwood (New York, 1939), 196.

²⁷ *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), I, 349; cf. VI, 7024, 7026-7031.

²⁸ Cf. de Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, II, 562; also his introduction to the *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*, 1526, in *Werke* (Weimar ed.), XIX, 74, 76; Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 365, note 2.

mote his own interests. This use of the visitation ultimately led to the establishment of the consistory in 1538.²⁹

Although Luther always insisted that the individual congregations had the right to accept or reject the officials placed over them by the consistory, this institution became an effective means for placing matters of church government into the hands of the princes. Threatened here as at other times by the growth of tyranny on the one hand and anarchy on the other, Luther did what he thought best to save the Gospel.³⁰

In virtually every country in Europe, Catholic as well as Protestant, the absolute state served as a necessary political form of government to put an end to feudalism and prepare the way for the modern national state. Luther's loyalty to the territorial state, in which he grew up and which provided him protection, was so far from being unusual, that none of his contemporary enemies accused him of supporting it. To him the prince remained, in a medieval sense, a fatherly ruler with paternal duties, to whom he, as a peasant's son, could look for protection and whom he honored and respected, despite the prince's shortcomings.

Luther frequently spoke of the many fine qualities of Elector Frederick the Wise (1486-1525).³¹ Yet he was no obsequious flatterer. No preacher of divine-right absolutism would have shown his ruler his Christian duties and human weaknesses in such sharp words as Luther did when he decided, against the Elector's will, to return to Wittenberg from the Wartburg in 1522. He even chided Frederick because of his great zeal for gathering relics, stating that God had answered his prayers for more by sending him "without cost and trouble . . . a whole cross, including nails and spears and scourges."³² He assured the Elector that he was returning "under a protection much higher and better than which you can give. I do not desire your protection. On the contrary, I intend to protect you . . . If you would believe as you should, you would see the glory of God."³³

29 Cf. Karl Müller, "Über die Anfänge der Konsistorialverfassung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 102 (1911), 1-30.

30 Cf. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I, 378-380.

31 Cf. *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), I, 42, 814; II, 2467a; III, 3287b; IV, 222, 223, 4445. Cf. Paul Kirn, *Friedrich der Weise und die Kirche* (Berlin, 1926), *passim*.

32 De Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, II, 136.

33 *Ibid.*, 137ff. Mar. 5, 1522.

In describing the character of Elector John (1525-1532), who had supported the Lutheran cause during its most critical years, he called particular attention to his piety and faithfulness to the church, the princes, and the Emperor. "When the pious prince died," he said, "both religion and politics were flourishing; for the emperor and other princes, even the tyrants, could only speak well of him and were pleased with his courtesy, friendliness, goodness, and modesty."³⁴ He frequently referred to John's courageous stand at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, where he "was not intimidated by any threats and refused to deviate from God's Word by a finger's breadth, despite the fact that he was in great personal danger for that reason."³⁵ But his high regard for this Elector did not prevent him from instructing him with respect to his Christian duties in definite, authoritative terms.³⁶

Luther was also consistently loyal to Elector John Frederick (1532-1547), the first of the Saxon rulers to carry out a strong policy of centralization, and praised him for his exceptionally clean speech, his love of God's Word, and his great concern for the church and schools. Nevertheless, at the beginning of his reign, he complained of his stubborn desire to rule without the assistance of advisers, and later took him to task for his excessive eating and drinking, stating that he "preferred a big body to a little one."³⁷

There is nothing in Luther's many references to the princes of electoral Saxony to indicate that his loyalty to them was more than that of a dutiful son who, in a late medieval sense, expected his rulers to carry out their paternalistic duties in an efficient manner and according to the Bible and common sense. That his religion and political thought did not lead the territorial princes of Germany to embrace divine-right absolutism has been shown conclusively by Fritz Hartung after an exhaustive study of their political testaments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁸ During this period both Catholic and Protestant princes showed the greatest concern with the preservation of Catholicism or "the pure doctrine" of Lutheranism; with carrying out their duties toward God by serving their

34 At the funeral of the elector. *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), II, 1738.

35 *Ibid.*, II, 2645; VI, 6756.

36 *Briefwechsel* (Weimar ed.), IV (1933), No. 1332 (Oct. 5, 1528), 576-580.

37 *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), II, 1731, 1564.

38 Fritz Hartung, *Volk und Staat in der deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1940), 94-111.

people paternalistically with the aid of capable councilors; with retaining the *status quo* by legal and police systems based firmly on Biblical precedents; with providing fair justice, based on Deuteronomy and designed primarily to protect the poor; and with promoting peace within the framework of the antiquated Holy Roman Empire. Far from attempting to create powerful states and maintain their positions by force of arms, the dynastic princes seemed content to place their destinies in the hands of God—with the notable exception of the Prussian rulers, who had embraced Calvinism.

National Loyalty

Luther's loyalty to Germany as a whole was no more modern than his loyalty to Saxony. In an attempt to find historical and racial justification for the excessive nationalism upon which the National Socialists so largely based their power, many German writers have read into Luther's references to his country and its people meanings which were totally foreign to sixteenth-century Germany.

It is true that a few German rulers, especially the ecclesiastical princes along the Rhine who resented the growth of the territories in the east, attempted to strengthen the central government of the Holy Roman Empire.³⁹ But the territorial princes as a whole, who in some respects came close to imitating the monarchs of France, England, and Spain, and the wealthy imperial cities were too intent to retain their "freedom" and "liberty" to permit the rise of a strong central state.⁴⁰

The chief political tendency among the German people which bore a close resemblance to nationality was that expressed in the grievances of the imperial diets of the last decades of the fifteenth century and which was aroused to white heat by Luther's open letter *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. This resentment, directed against the domination of German affairs by an outside power, the papacy at Rome, was essentially a negative attitude. It is generally agreed that there was no positive force in Germany strong enough to overcome particularism and create a unified state. Ulrich von Hutten, who believed that Luther's new Gospel would supply a positive

39 Hans Baron, "Imperial Reform and the Habsburgs, 1486-1504," *American Historical Review*, XLIV, 293-303.

40 Fritz Hartung, *Volk und Staat*, 11-12.

motivation, failed miserably in stirring the German people as a whole to action. The Peasants' Revolt, which also had a positive program, was by no means organized nationally and was chiefly concerned with regaining lost feudal rights.

Only among a few intellectual circles was there a romantic nostalgia for the days when Germany was the mightiest force in Christendom, particularly in the days of the Ottonian and Hohenstaufen rulers. The humanists called attention also to the deeds of Arminius and to Tacitus' portrayal of the virtues of the Germans. Yet such sentiments lacked virility and seldom influenced men of action.

Luther's loyalty to the German people cannot be denied. But his was the attitude of a pastor, and not a political leader. That he considered himself the prophet of his "dear Germans," rather than of Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, was a natural thing in view of the fact that he considered divided Germany the victim of the ambitions of these people and their rulers. He once complained that no nation was more despised than Germany. "The Italians call us beasts; France and England and all other lands ridicule us."⁴¹

Largely for the purpose of giving the Germans self-respect and courage in their struggles with their enemies, especially the Turks, Luther called attention to those events in their history of which they should be proud;⁴² to their economic resources, which should make them prosperous;⁴³ and their virtues, particularly their artlessness, trustworthiness, and honesty.⁴⁴ But such things were never mentioned in a boastful or chauvinistic spirit, for he invariably referred also to the vices of the Germans in much greater detail. He never tired of scolding them for their fickleness, prodigality, gambling, gluttony, and drunkenness.⁴⁵ No one who has read his violent reproofs of the German people and his dire prophecies of impending punishment, especially in his later years, would accuse him of arousing extreme nationalism by an occasional word of praise.⁴⁶

41 *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), II, 1428. For a scholarly treatment of Luther's lack of national consciousness see Hans Kohn, *The Idea of National Consciousness* (New York, 1944), who states that "The connection of Lutheranism with the rise of nationalism in Germany is slight" (143).

42 *Ibid.*, I, 904; III, 3636.

43 *Ibid.*, VI, 7044.

44 *Ibid.*, IV, 4018.

45 *Ibid.*, I, 904; V, 6310, 6145; VI, 7043, 7054.

46 *Ibid.*, IV, 4011, 4803; VI, 6546.

Luther's references to the perfection of the German language, which was in many respects akin to the Greek;⁴⁷ his hobby of collecting German books, stories, pictures, proverbs, and songs; his interest in linguistics; and his own forceful and poetic use of the German language in his hymns, sermons, letters, and translation of the Bible are unusual for Germany in the sixteenth century, but not for Europe as a whole. It is absurd to blame Luther for arousing a dangerous national spirit among the Germans by such means.

Consistent with his conception of Church and government was Luther's loyalty to Emperor Charles V, though he felt that Charles was too often misguided by the pope and other "satanic influences." That his loyalty was in no way contingent upon his own personal considerations was apparent in his letter to Frederick the Wise in March, 1522, in which he made it clear that the Elector must "be obedient to the powers above you, that is, the Emperor . . . I hope that they [the imperial government] will act within reason and will recognize God's hand in this cause. But if they do not, and seize me, simply permit it." This, as we have seen, was his advice to the Lutheran princes during the critical years 1529 and 1530. When, in 1539, the princes were again considering armed resistance to Charles, he repeated his former position, but added that the Emperor could not act legally without the seven electors, for he was not an absolute ruler. He stated that he would take up the sword in self-defense against the Emperor only if the latter carried on war against the princes on behalf of the pope, who was not the ruler of Germany.⁴⁸ It was difficult for him to make this concession to the princes, for he still could not harmonize this position with the express commands of the Bible. As late as 1538 he had praised Charles for his skill in warfare and had asked his friends to pray God to send him an angel to help him against the Turks.⁴⁹

The most flagrant misrepresentation of Luther's statements on political matters has been perpetrated in connection with his references to heroes (*Wundermenschen*).⁵⁰ It is true that he

47 *Ibid.*, IV, 4018; V, 6146.

48 *Ibid.*, IV, 4380; cf. 4342.

49 *Ibid.*, III, 3687.

50 Cf. Rudolf Thiel, *Luther*, II, especially pp. 347-348, who interprets Luther's desire for a hero as a desire for a *Führer* in the National Socialist sense and states that he, as a German, "taught his people respect for the great leaders (*Führer*) whom fate has chosen."

frequently spoke of Germany's need for a great leader to whom he referred as a *Haupt, Herr, Regent*, and *Wundermensch*, but never as *Führer*—and hoped that God would soon send one.⁵¹ However, there is nothing to indicate that such a hero should not be a regularly appointed ruler. Moreover, his conception of a hero was that of the humanists of his day, that of the classical hero, who may defy the schoolbooks and popular wisdom, but who by no means is freed of ethical responsibility or is unlimited in his power.⁵² This can be substantiated by the examples which he uses, namely, Scipio and Frederick the Wise, who knew how to control their natural impulses.⁵³ He who goes beyond this in his personal ambitions, he "who rules without law . . . is a beast, worse than a wild, dumb animal."⁵⁴

Luther's territorial and national loyalty had nothing in common with modern nationalism, for it was at all times subordinated to a greater loyalty of a religious character. Moreover, the government which he knew, both territorial and imperial, had nothing in common with the modern, secularized state, or even with the absolute monarchy which used the church for its own dynastic ends. Therefore the loyalty which he showed and which became a characteristic of Lutheranism at its best consisted primarily of a wholesome respect for the government which did not defy the laws of God and nature, but carried out its obligations to God and man. Such a government can be a monarchy, an oligarchy, a liberal democracy, or a highly socialized state.

51 *Tischreden* (Weimar ed.), III, 3562, 3636; V, 5735, 5982.

52 *Ibid.*, VI, 6955.

53 *Ibid.*, V, 5540.

54 *Ibid.*, V, 6118.

WALTON'S REDACTION OF HOOKER

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Richard Hooker's *Of The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Polity* is in many ways the great explicit crystallization of the whole philosophic scheme by which Elizabethan England lived. Historically it represents the doctrinal "Thus far and no farther" which the English monarchy flung at the forces of the Reformation. Published at a moment of crisis¹ in 1593, the first four Books provided a base upon which the hard-pressed Anglicans could rally against the renewed attacks of Presbyterianism.² With the Fifth Book (published in 1597) they remained the great touchstone of Anglican doctrine throughout the seventeenth century. It is no small weapon in controversy to have your doctrines demonstrated so unanswerably as Hooker did the Anglican to be the logical manifestation of the one great integrated scheme of the universe which all parties already accept as valid.

The situation was quite otherwise with the three remaining Books of the *Polity*, which Hooker left unpublished at his death. As the Anglican position moved away from Hooker's modified Calvinism to the Arminianism which was made to embrace absolute monarchy and the apostolic succession of bishops, there was much in the last three Books which could only be used to bolster the Parliament and Low Church positions. The Anglican bishops, however, were able to go on invoking Hooker on their side all through the century, since they had also invoked enough doubt about the validity of the manuscripts of these three Books to justify their ascribing any embarrassing doctrines which might be drawn from them to Puritan meddling.

1 Note the sense of crisis, almost of a cause already lost, in the opening words of the *Polity*: "Though for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same."

2 C. J. Sisson points out, in *The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hoooker* (Cambridge, 1940), how the publication of the first four Books of the *Polity*, as now established, in 1593, was probably part of a carefully worked-out legislative program with the Conventicle Act of that year.

with the manuscripts. After the publication of the recent scholarly works of Houk and Sisson,³ however, we may assume that what we have of the *Ecclesiasticall Polity* to-day is Hooker's own work, and that the charges of meddling with the manuscripts put forth so freely by Walton against the Puritans, and by Coleridge and Hallam against the High Church party,⁴ are uniformly false.

One can, however, meddle with the reception of a book by affecting the state of mind of men who are to read it, or by using selections which slant the total meaning in a way the author does not intend. In that sense there was a great deal of meddling with Hooker's last three Books of the *Polity* during the seventeenth century. The almost infinite successive shadings of Church doctrine and national politics between the time of Hooker and the Restoration found Hooker's doctrines of use in turn to the contemporary Right, Center, and Left, while the Right continued to claim him as their own. Keble's energetic attempt to make him a complete High Churchman extends this process into the nineteenth century.

The most effective weapon the Restoration found to assert its claim on Hooker was Izaak Walton's *Life*. Walton ushered the meek Mr. Hooker into the High Church Pantheon so suavely that he became a spokesman for doctrines which the explicit terms of his *Polity* repudiate. Walton was, of course, not intentionally misleading. There is no doubt that he had read Hooker's early writings, and the sermons which had been published, but it is also evident that he had read little or nothing of the *Polity* itself. Sisson and Houk have shown how the tradition about Hooker that reached Walton was calculated to form exactly the conclusions that the High Church party wanted conveyed. Beyond these factual faults, however, it is notable that although Walton's interpretation of Hooker is theologically accurate, its terms are entirely misleading on the two questions most at issue in the church and state after the Restoration: abso-

3 Raymond Aaron Houk, *Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity, Book VIII* (New York, 1931). Sisson and Houk are in general agreement, except on the question of the form in which Hooker left the *Polity* at his death. Professor Hardin Craig ("Of the Laws of Ecclesiasticall Polity—First Form," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V (1944), 91ff.) supports Houk's contention that the entire eight Books were in a form ready for publication in 1593. Sisson claims that Hooker's death interrupted the actual composition of the last three Books.

4 Henry Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England* (1876), I, 220-21. H. N. Coleridge, ed., *The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1838), III, 10-20. Both reprinted in Sisson, 186-187.

lute monarchy, and the apostolic succession of bishops. What this study intends is an examination of Walton's redaction of the figure of Hooker and his doctrines for a closer definition of the way in which Walton served as an unconscious spokesman for the attitudes pushed by the bishops he loved so well. What motives may we see behind the picture of Hooker which Walton presents? What elements of doctrine does Walton choose to connect with him? How does he make this connection, and to what extent are these the doctrines of the *Polity*?

Hooker was somewhat more Calvinist and Low Church in 1593 than many of the bishops; at the same time he was more High Church than his most intimate friends, George Cranmer and Sir Edwin Sandys. Bancroft had already identified the Church of England with a doctrine of the apostolic succession which was against all Calvinist teaching,⁵ and, although Archbishop Whitgift probably did not agree with it completely,⁶ he did not disassociate himself from that view. It was Whitgift who inspired the *Polity* in the first place, and it was Sandys who underwrote the publication of the first four Books of the *Polity*, and later the Fifth, when no publisher would risk it. Sisson's researches show, however, that Sandys was only too glad to postpone indefinitely the printing of the Sixth Book after Hooker's death in 1600. In the detailed critique of the manuscript by Sandys and George Cranmer which is extant,⁷ Sandys remonstrates sharply with Hooker for certain overly-papist tendencies he finds. What we have of Book VI we owe to Lancelot Andrewes, who wrote to a friend soon after Hooker's death, urging him to see to it that the manuscripts Hooker had left:

come not into greate hands, whoe will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque*, & suppress the rest, or unhappily all: but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wish'd him well, though of the meaner sort.⁸

When the manuscripts were later brought to London, and Sandys, Dr. Spencer, and Bishop Parry began dividing them up among themselves to prepare them for publication, we find Andrewes hurriedly making himself a member of the committee at their second meeting.⁹ Is it too much to assume that he came

5 In 1589, in a sermon at Paul's Cross. John Keble ed., *The Works of . . . Mr. Richard Hooker*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1863), I, lxx ff.

6 Houk, *Polity*, 73-74.

7 Keble, *Works*, III, 108ff.; Sisson, *the Judicious Marriage*, 100.

8 Quoted by Houk, *Polity*, 113.

9 Sisson, *The Judicious Marriage*, 94.

in thus to keep an eye on the Low Churchmen in this important matter? It seems he had reason, for it was Sandys who lost the complete text of Book VI, and it was from the manuscript preserved by Andrewes, and after him by Ussher, that the part we have was finally printed in 1648.¹⁰ This version is a justification of the powers of the Anglican clergy in matters of penance and absolution, a doctrine dear to the heart of a High Churchman.

Sandys, however, could and did find political ammunition in Hooker's Book VIII for the prominent part he took against the Crown as a member of Parliament in 1610 and 1614. Hooker's assertion of a version of the Social Contract is the obvious source for Sandys' speech recorded in the *Journals of the House of Commons* (I, 493), where he asserted, as the notes record:

No successive King but First elected—Election double; of Person and Care; but both come in by Consent of People and with reciprocal Conditions between King and People.—That a King by Conquest, may also (when Power) be expelled.

The debate had arisen on the question of the salt tax. Sir Henry Wotton had defended the King's right to impose it, and cited the powers of other contemporary kings. His first opponent was Sir Roger Owen who, it is recorded after Sandys' speech, "may, to the Sub-committee, bring forth the Books, Reasons, and Authorities he will stand upon.—ordered." We may wonder if Sir Roger did not bring in the manuscript of Book VIII of the *Polity*, which his legislative ally, Sir Edwin Sandys, probably had in his possession.

The contention of Coleridge and Hallam that the last Books of the *Polity* were suppressed by the High Church party is further disproved by the fact that the first publication of Book VII, in which Hooker carefully refrains from supporting the doctrine of apostolic succession throughout hundreds of pages of justification of episcopacy on many other grounds, was in the first complete edition of the *Polity* by Bishop Gauden, published in 1662. Gauden records that the manuscripts he has used were preserved by Archbishop Sheldon.¹¹ This edition was the occasion of Walton's *Life of Hooker*, first published in 1665.

If the High Church took care to preserve the manuscripts of the last three Books of the *Polity*, it took care to assure also

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹¹ See also Houk, *Polity*, 77.

the reading of them only *quatenus et quousque*. As Sisson puts it:

The last three Books were printed together for the first time, . . . in Gauden's edition of 1661-2, early in the Restoration, with an assertion of their authenticity. And it was then that steps were taken to cast the strongest discredit upon these Books, in Walton's *Life*, which he was commissioned to write by Archbishop Sheldon. This *Life*, prefacing all future editions of the *Polity*, beginning with that of 1666, prepared the reader's mind for resistance to doctrines and positions which were suspect and which might represent, not the thought of the great apologist of the Church, but the corruptions and substitutions of her enemies.¹²

Sheldon may have felt that Gauden's purpose was not above some criticism of the Church administration, for Gauden dedicates his book to the King, "That hereby your Majesty and all the world may see . . . what sort of men are fittest for Church-work." Certainly Sheldon, who fostered the cult of Laud in the Restoration Church, could not have taken quietly the slap at Laud contained in Gauden's laying the blame for the destruction of the Church to the

superfluous, illegal, and unauthorized innovations in point of ceremony, which some men affected to use in publique, and impose upon others, which provoked people to jealousy and fury, even against things lawful.¹³

The exact terms of this delicate project in propaganda which Walton is undertaking are perfectly defined by the incident he relates in the Appendix to his *Life of Hooker*:

. . . and you may suppose that this Charles the First, was not a stranger to the pretended three Books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his Argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written Books) the King replied, they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's Books; but however he would allow them to be Mr. Hookers, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful Books, if he would but consent to the Judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker.¹⁴

Walton is entrusted with the task of retaining for the Church of the Restoration the advantages of the prestige of the figure of Hooker, while enabling the bishops to reject any doctrines

12 Sisson, *The Judicious Marriage*, 108.

13 John Gauden, *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker . . . with an Account of his Holy Life and Happy Death* (1662), 14.

14 *Lives*, by Izaak Walton (Oxford, *World's Classics*), 235.

from Hooker's writings which might not support their position. Hooker's careful delineation of the English monarchy as founded upon the original consent of the people (VII, iv), and the careful way in which he avoids any specific statement of the apostolic succession (VIII, ii, 3ff.), are in sufficient contrast to the implications of the cult of Laud in the Restoration Church, its intransigence after the Savoy Conference, and the tendency of the monarchy to absolutism, to obviate any laboring of this point.¹⁵ The purpose guiding Walton's tone and selection of facts in the *Life of Hooker* is obvious. What I intend is a closer examination of the terms of that tone and selection.

Walton's first purpose is to discredit the text of Gauden's edition on all possible grounds, so that the dangerous doctrines of Books VII and VIII will not be taken as genuine Hooker. His second purpose, represented by his long digressions, is to make possible a selective interpretation of Hooker on historical grounds. His third is to make that interpretation plausible by the personal terms in which he portrays Hooker: as an impractical, if saintly, character, unable to cope with the world as it is, one who needs the guidance and adaptation of a worldly-wise hierarchy.

In his Introduction, Walton lays claim to "having some years before [his association with the Cranmer family] read part of Mr. Hookers Works with great liking and satisfaction," but the *Life* represents doctrinally the Hooker of the *Answer* to Travers and the sermons centering about the dispute in the Temple. It is only the "many particular points" of that contest which Walton specifically claims to have read.¹⁶ Since Hooker's later positions are a consistent development of his earlier doctrines, theologically Walton's terms remain accurate. But his ignorance of the full doctrine of the *Polity* is what makes the inferences he leaves scattered about his narrative so misleading in terms of what Hooker actually believed. He describes the *Polity* as "a deliberate sober Treatise of the Churches power to make Canons for use of Ceremonies, and by Law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her Children" (208); but

15 (After the Civil War) "English churchmen were in the mood to accept, and even to enforce, a theory of the episcopal office which would have been generally rejected before." Herbert Henley Henson, *The Church of England* (Cambridge, 1939), 122.

16 "... all or most of which, I have seen written," 201.

his specific delineation of Hooker's doctrinal position is uniformly theological. I think we may assume that Walton had never read the *Polity*, simply because he makes no claim to have done so.¹⁷

Only by such an assumption can we account for the curious mixture of confidence in the accuracy of his facts and the continued nervousness about "censures" which Walton displays in his own comments about the *Life of Hooker*. In all his biographies Walton represents himself as advancing only hesitantly into the field of literature when no one more fitted has offered to perform the biographical "honor due the dead," but in none of them is the initiative more external or Walton's reluctance more genuine, than in the Hooker. This is the more curious since (as he notes in his Introduction) he had been collecting materials for a life of Hooker for over forty years. He makes it clear in the first lines of the Introduction that this is a command performance:

I have been perswaded by a Friend whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of Richard Hooker.

The reason he gives for his reluctance is the labor involved in uncovering the facts of a life at so great a remove from his own time:

For I knew him not in his Life, and must therefore not only look back to his Death, now 64 years past; but almost 50 years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth.

This uncertainty reflects itself in the first line of the *Life* proper. "It is not to be doubted [he says] but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-Tree, near or within the Precincts, or in the City of Exeter." All the other subjects of Walton's biographies are straightforwardly born in the first sentence of their *Lives*.

Nevertheless, in his Preface "To the Reader" Walton is so confident of his facts that he can say, And now for myself, I can say, I hope or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. He has indeed added a great deal, from impeccable sources, to

17 One might add the considerations I note below: that some of the practises of Hooker as a parish priest, taken as beyond dispute by Walton, are actually matters of argument in the *Polity*, and the clear misrepresentation of Hooker's position on the social contract and apostolic succession, which Walton could never have accomplished so confidently had he read the *Polity*, even in an edition he distrusted. Keble (see below) cites grounds for the same conclusion.

the terms of Gauden's *Life*, which is a very thin job indeed. The few facts about Hooker there, most of them demonstrably wrong, are padded out interminably with pseudo-philosophic observations, probably to hide the paucity of factual detail. Walton cites his sources in his Introduction. He had married the niece of George Cranmer, Hooker's pupil at Oxford, who had such a prominent part in the writing of the *Polity*. His wife's aunt had, moreover, been the wife of John Spencer, Hooker's literary executor.

In spite of this perfect confidence in his facts, Walton still feels that

it is impossible to escape Censures; against which, I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I consider the Age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my Reader a suspension of his Censures, till I have made known unto him some Reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking; and if these Reasons shall not acquit me from all Censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for.

Despite his unchallengeable facts, Walton still feels himself open to "Censures." His elaborate hesitation about undertaking the writing of the *Life* at all, his whole tone of nervous sensitivity to criticism come, I believe, from his consciousness that he is writing not about Hooker alone, but about "Mr. Hooker and His Books." The facts he knows relate to Mr. Hooker. There is a great deal he is unsure about in "His Books."

Walton wrote his *Life of Hooker* in the episcopal residence at Winchester as the guest of Bishop Morley, and at the specific request of Archbishop Sheldon. His description of the genesis of the Hooker, in his Address "To the Reader" prefacing the collected edition of the *Lives* of 1675, gives us a clear picture of the terms which his commission carried.

... about that time Dr. Gauden (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) publisht the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, (so he call'd it) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his Books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; he, injoined me to examine some Circumstances, and then rectifie the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the World a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and His Books, than that Bishop had done, and I know I have done so.

Mistakes about the facts of Hooker's life could hardly be "dangerous." The subject set Walton is "Mr. Hooker and His

Books," and his confidence is only in the accuracy of his facts. When he must carry those facts into the field of doctrinal controversy, his confidence gives way to a pervading sense of unease.

What Walton is being asked thus to do necessitates a re-vamping of the formula for biography which he had established in the *Lives* of Donne and Wotton twenty years before, and which he was to go gratefully back to in the *Lives* of Herbert and Sanderson which followed the Hooker. His sense of the form a biography should take is apparent in the very existence of an Appendix to the Hooker, and in the words with which he introduces it:

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my Reader, by imparting to him the true Relation of Mr. Hookers Life: I am desirous also, to acquaint him with some Observations that relate to it, and which *could not properly* fall to be spoken till after his death.¹⁸
18 Italics mine.

The narrative in each of the other *Lives* moves insistently toward a definite climax in which a pious death caps a holy life. Details are rigorously selected to lead to that climax. In his collection of materials for the *Life of Hooker*, Walton says he centered upon those categories which were traditionally the domain of the biographer, as he and his time conceived them:

... my affection to them [the Cranmers] made me a diligent Inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his Person, his Nature, the management of his Time, his Wife, his Family, and the Fortune of him and his.¹⁹

This is far from representing the main focus of the *Life*. As Professor Butt, the ablest critic to deal with Walton as a biographer, puts it:

... the first few and the last pages give us a clear enough picture of the man; but Hooker's figure is lost in the center of the book.²⁰

Walton attempts to separate his picture of Hooker from his attack on the Gauden text by the expedient of his Appendix, but the *Life* itself is disrupted as an artistic whole, as none of the other *Lives* are, by a series of digressions which, with the Appendix, constitute more than half its length. The most disturbing of these, to Walton as well as to his readers, is the historical sketch of Hooker's times, and the long digression on Whitgift.

19 See Marie Schutt: *Die Englische Biografie der Tudorzeit* (Hamburg, 1930).

20 John Butt, "Izaak Walton's Methods in Biography," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIX (Oxford, 1934), 70.

It is here especially that we feel the pressure of Walton's acute sense of form. The anxiety evoked by the conflict between the artist and the propagandist is directly communicated by his reiterated promise to return to Hooker "where we left him." But the compulsion of his polemical purpose is stronger, and he carries on doggedly to the end. Why does Walton feel he must describe so elaborately the times and the man who inspired the *Polity*? Wotton, for one, was much more the man of his times than Hooker, and yet Walton is not so torn between the two objects of his attention in that *Life*.

These aberrations of form can be justified artistically only if we accept this biography of Hooker as an attempt to justify in some sense the discarding, under the cloak of historical relativity, of those doctrines in Hooker's writing which were rising up to haunt the Restoration bishops from the pages of the Gauden edition of the *Polity*. Hooker had himself set a precedent, for he met the Puritan demand for literal interpretation of Scripture with an assertion of just such historical justification of Anglican doctrines:

The several books of Scripture having had each some several occasion and particular purpose which caused them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that special end whereunto they are intended.²¹

Walton, then, I feel, goes into such detail on the special situation, and the personality of the Archbishop, which inspired the writing of the *Polity*, not for any light they throw on Hooker himself, but for the atmosphere of relativity they induce for viewing the *Polity* as a document written to suit those times, and not the changed times of the Restoration.

There is, of course, no overt statement of this purpose by Walton, but in at least one passage it works a wholly unexpected change in his own firmly-held view of history. Throughout the *Lives*, Walton assumes the uniform decline of his age, and to his mind it is always a decline in wisdom as well as virtue. It is somewhat startling, then, to find in his comment on Hooker as "a little wonder" as a child, that

... in that, Children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, Age.

This wiser age must interpret the works of Hooker to fit the demands of its day.

²¹ *Polity*, II, xiii, 2.

Walton's portrayal of Hooker's personality is part of the same program of historical revaluation. It is true that all of Walton's subjects are molded to his own ideals of humility and serenity in a way that drains them of any real complexity of character. Except perhaps for Herbert, Hooker is the principal victim of this process. It may be argued that this is because of the fact that Hooker is the only one with whom Walton was not more or less contemporary, but the intimacy with which Walton's sources knew Hooker might have produced a more accurate picture of his personality. Keble has summarized the points of divergence very accurately.

Perhaps the case of Hooker is that in which the biographer has on the whole produced the most incorrect impression of his subject. He seems to have judged rather from anecdotes which had come to his knowledge than from the indications of temperament which Hooker's own writings afford. Otherwise he might perhaps have seen reason to add to his commendation of him for meekness and patience, that those qualities were by no means constitutional in him. Like Moses, to whom Walton compares him, he was by nature extremely sensitive, quick in feeling any sort of unfairness, and thoroughly aware of his own power to chastize it: so that his forbearance (which only those can judge of, who have acquainted themselves with the writings of his opponents) must have been the result of strong principle and unwearied self-control. Again, Walton or his informants appear to have considered him as almost childishly ignorant of human nature and of the ordinary business of life: whereas his writings throughout betray uncommon shrewdness and quickness of observation, and a vein of the keenest humor runs through them; the last quality we should look for, if we judged only by reading the *Life*.²²

A single reading of Hooker's *Answer* to Travers, or the manuscript notes on the *Christian Letter*, written when Hooker was preparing the reply which he did not live to finish, reveals a quite different figure from Walton's. What Walton is doing is essentially to devalue the learning and wisdom of Hooker, by over-emphasizing his humility. Throughout the early pages of the *Life*, Hooker's learning takes second place to his piety. When Bishop Sandys, himself a Cambridge man, resolves to send his son Edwin to be Hooker's pupil at Corpus Christi, Oxford, . . . the Bishop said, I will have a Tutor for my son that shall teach him Learning by Instruction, and Vertue by Example; and my greatest care shall be of the last.

And when Hooker is considered for the position of Master of

²² Keble, *Works*, I, ii.

the Temple, Walton affirms that he is chosen for his "Virtue and Learning"—in that order.

Walton's representation of Hooker as the dupe of Mrs. Churchman (now proved by Sisson to be completely a fable) works to the same purpose. He is not averse even to a pun to drive home the terms in which his reader is to take Hooker. His comment on Hooker's marriage is: "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of the Light." Walton's Hooker is wise in piety and in abstract learning, but lamentably unfit for the ways of the world. It is Whitgift, the figure of the ideal bishop, who knows how to bring out the ideas of Hooker to meet the particular problems of the time. The world demands now, Walton is saying, that the bishops again take the lead in making sure that the doctrines we affirm be suited to the times. It may even demand that we reinterpret some of Hooker's own doctrines. Only with this emphasis does the digression on the times and on the figure of Whitgift, about which Walton again and again manifests his uneasiness, take its place as a functional part of the *Life*.

Walton's description of Hooker as the parish priest has the effect of identifying Hooker with attitudes on questions more pertinent to Walton's time than Hooker's. Hooker, the supreme casuist of the Church of England, becomes for Walton the embodiment of the virtues in the practice of which he sees the Church of his own day remiss. Walton's Hooker is concerned not with the defence of the doctrines of the Church so much as with the conscientious practice of them. Walton earlier refers to some of the questions which Hooker spilled so much ink in defending, only to dismiss them:

... other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, that he prayed before and not after his Sermons; that in his Prayers he named Bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the Sacrament, and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) other exceptions so like these as but to name I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them.

This is a quotation, of course; but would Walton have chosen this particular point to quote if he had realized that Book V of the *Polity* is almost entirely concerned with the definition and defence of the sacraments, and that Hooker deals in all seriousness with points even more niggling than these? Indeed, in Walton's pages devoted to Hooker in his parish, the taking of the

communion in a sitting posture by the Genevan "intruder" during the Long Parliament is important enough to be represented as the cause of the death of the parish clerk who had "known Mr. Hooker."

The points that concern Hooker in his parish are not those of doctrine. One of the Puritan quarrels with Anglican practice in communion, which Hooker answers in Book V of the *Polity*, was (in Hooker's words) "our imparting this sacrament privately to the sick." He demonstrates that although the early Church may well have held to such a restrictive practice, "there remaineth unto us no necessity at all, for which that custom [of not imparting it] should be retained." Walton's Hooker makes a point of being diligent in inquiring who of his parish may be sick, "supposing that the fittest time" to incline them to confession and to receive the communion. Moreover, there is a sharp difference to be noted here between the exalted holy joy with which Hooker dwells on the communication of grace by the sacraments in the *Polity* and Walton's sense almost of the tricks of the trade being well followed.

The other element of Anglican practice which receives most emphasis in this picture of Hooker is his careful observance of Fast Days and "the customary time of Procession." Herbert, too, is represented by Walton as observing with special emphasis Rogation Day and the Beating of the Bounds. That element of Hooker's doctrine most needed by the Restoration was doubtless his definition of the function of the Church in society. His *Polity* establishes the principle that every citizen is at once a member of the Church and of the Commonwealth. Beating the Bounds is the ceremony most emblematic of the union of all the classes of society: a ceremony which brings the Church in most sharply as the unifying force in the social order.²³ Walton represents Hooker as

perswading all both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of Love, and their Parish Rights and Liberties to accompany him in his Perambulation, and most did so.

Special emphasis is reserved for Hooker's observance of Fast Days. It is clear from the political pamphlet, *Love and*

²³ Keble, in a note on this passage in the *Life*, notes that ceremony as "a usage excepted against by the Puritans," but there were many more important points that Walton might have chosen to bring out, on which Hooker disagreed with them.

Truth, which has been ascribed to Walton,²⁴ that one of the prime points of attack upon the Restoration Church was the slothfulness, vanity, and insincerity of the clergy. The letters making up the pamphlet bear the date 1667, although the pamphlet itself is dated 1680. The way these letters dwell upon the "sin of schism," and the personal note involved in the mention of Walton's *Life of Herbert*, inclines one to think that they are indeed by Walton. However that may be, it suffices to emphasize the fact that the central point of attack for the criticism was the observance of Fast Days. He says:

And I must confess also, what you say of a clergyman's bidding to fast on the eves of holy-days in Lent, and the Ember Weeks: And I wish those biddings were foreborne or better practised by themselves for it is too visible they do not what the church for good reasons enjoins them.²⁵

Thus, although Fast Days are a very minor part of the doctrine Hooker defends in the *Polity*, his observance of them becomes a point of special emphasis for Walton.

Another complaint that the correspondent to whom the author of *Love and Truth* writes has made about the clergy is that their dress is too fancy, and that they, and more especially their wives, parade their fineries in a most un-Christian way. We may remember the emphasis Walton lays on Hooker's dress as the badge of his humility. Many turn out of their way to come to see him at his parsonage at Borne.

What went they out to see? [asks Walton] a man cloathed in purple and fine linnen? no indeed, but an obscure, harmless man, a man in poor Cloaths, his Loyns usually girt in a course Gown, or Canonical Coat; . . . his Face full of Heat-pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life.

All these are, however, incidental to the prime purpose of the Archbishop's intention in giving Walton his assignment. Walton obediently spares no pains explicitly and implicitly to abolish the authority of Gauden's edition, and he is working at it on almost every page of the *Life*. He begins his Introduction by announcing his subject as "the happy Author of Five (if not more) of the Eight learned Books of the Law of Ecclesiasticall Polity." Mrs. Hooker's character is blackened for the purpose of circumstantial questioning of the three Books; in the Appendix Walton adds to this the story of the Puritan raid on

²⁴ Reprinted by Thomas Zouch in his edition of the *Lives* (1817), II.

²⁵ Walton, *Life of Herbert*, 418.

Hooker's papers after his death, the Archbishop's attempt to question Mrs. Hooker about the manuscripts, and the suspicious circumstances of her death. These facts are adduced to justify his statement that "whether we have the last three as finish't by himself, is a just and material question"; the Appendix is, in fact, one continuous attack on the Gauden edition. Walton supplies an "Epistle" of Dr. Spencer's, usually printed before the texts of

Mr. Hooker's five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in Anno 1662, in which the Publishers seem to impose the three doubtful Books to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker.

Spencer claims that what remains of the last three Books have "not the shadow of themselves remaining in them." It is curious that Walton does not connect the name of Bishop Gauden with the text of the *Polity* here. It is also curious that, considering how completely Walton has rejected these three Books, he is strangely reserved in claiming that their validity is still "a just and material question." The answer is, of course, that the High Church would have liked to keep Book VI in the canon while it threw away the other two.

Walton manages also to question the text of the last three Books implicitly at intervals in the body of the *Life*. The reader is, for instance, unconsciously prepared for the possibility of their destruction, by being made aware of Hooker's own fears for the safety of his manuscripts. The ostensible purpose of the little incident Walton describes near the time of Hooker's death is to show Hooker's other-worldliness, but it is strange that it should happen to concern his manuscripts:

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his House was robb'd; of which he having notice, his Question was, Are my Books and written Papers safe? And being answered, That they were; his Reply was, then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me.

Walton has been able to correct the many deficiencies of Gauden's *Life* by well-established facts from impeccable sources. In his Appendix he supplies even more telling deficiencies in Gauden's text of the last three Books by quoting a passage from Dr. Barnard's *Clavi Trabales*²⁶ of 1661, who claims to have ex-

²⁶ It is interesting to note that Gauden seems to have been aware of this title, for in his *Life of Hooker* he says: "Here this great Master of the Assembly not onely drives home to the head these Clavos Trabales, strong nails, which by the

amined the manuscripts before Gauden printed them. Barnard avers, says Walton, "that in the said three Books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions that they amount to many Paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies";²⁷ Walton quotes only one of these omissions: a paragraph affirming the right of judgment of kings, and an affirmation of the king's unaccountability to any earthly power.²⁸

We have seen how Hooker's version of the social contract had provided material for Sandys' attack on the royal prerogative, and for Lord Say's arguments with King Charles. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, whose letter to Walton was printed with the first edition of the *Life of Hooker*, makes clear that it was in this connection that Hooker had been most tellingly used against the High Church position. In fact, his highest praise for Walton is for his having "vindicated" Mr. Hooker "in this particular." During the Civil Wars, he says,

there wanted not other Endeavors to corrupt and make them speak that Language for which the Faction then fought, which indeed was *To subject the Sovereign Power to the People*.

Clavi Trabales is, however, itself guilty of misconstruing Hooker, by its presentation of its quotations from him out of context. Hooker does say in the *Polity* (VIII, ii) that the king or supreme governor is not accountable to the people now, but that is only because the people at some time or other in the past

hammer of Reason he forged on the Anvil of Religion, but he clencht them so fast that they are not to be drawn out." If we consider that Barnard has "drawn out" of context passages to indicate a meaning at variance with Hooker's total meaning, we may conclude that Gauden was using this edition of Hooker as a discreet vehicle for opposition to the tendency of High Church doctrine to take its own way with the Church. There were several issues of the Gauden edition, as Houk makes clear (pp. 121ff.), the later one clearly necessitated by the appearance of *Clavi Trabales*. There is something to be said, I believe, for the hypothesis that Gauden was commenting on the nature of the purpose behind *Clavi Trabales* in the above passage.

27 Keble claims that: "It seems rather as if he had found a copy, made by or for the archbishop, (and that an unfinished one) of certain portions of the treatise" (I, 96n.).

28 *Clavi Trabales* is essentially an *apologia* for Ussher in some of the same terms as Walton's *Life* is for Hooker. Barnard uses the same historical argument as Walton to explain Ussher's compromise proposal of 1640 for a "Reduction of Episcopacy to the form of Synodical Government" as "occasioned by the present Tempestuous Violence of the Times" (p. 54). Both these books may be seen as part of a concerted effort on the part of the Restoration Church to shore up its new intransigency by at once refurbishing the leading figures of the past generation, and narrowing the scope of their doctrines. Gauden's position in this campaign may be deduced from W. K. Jordan's notice of him in *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), IV, 426 n.

irrevocably committed themselves and their heirs to this kind of kingship. They have not the power, he says, to withdraw that "influence of dominion . . . if inconvenience doth grow thereby." But Hooker does affirm that the English monarchy originated in the consent of the people and that the original agreement between the people and the king set conditions on his tenure; and he is at great pains to define the responsibility of the king of England under the law. If we add the force of right, as the sanction of divine Providence, which Hooker gives even to a kingship by conquest (which, however, he says England is not), and the sanction of rebellion implied in such a justification, we have nearly all the grounds of the Parliament position in the Civil War. The impression Walton gives his reader, then, by his quotation out of context, that Hooker is a strong advocate of unfettered divine right monarchy, is a false one. When Walton adds to his quotation from *Clavi Trabales* an attestation under oath from one Fabian Phillips: that Doctor Sanderson had told him, that *he* had seen a manuscript "affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker,"²⁹ in which there was no mention made of the King or Supream Governors being accountable to the People"; he is also guilty of a misleading statement.

There is little doubt that on this score all parties concerned were sincere. Walton had probably not read the *Polity*, so these passages in *Clavi Trabales* would be for him completely convincing. The bishops were aware of the traditional story that the manuscripts had been rifled on Hooker's death, and it was a matter of record in Parliament that those in Laud's Library had been in the hands of Puritans during the war. But regarding that other great question, the divine right of bishops, the sincerity of the bishops is less clear, although I think Walton remains Honest Izaak. For the one Book of the *Polity* which Gauden printed for the first time was the Seventh. Hook³⁰ concludes that it has all the marks of authenticity. Gauden says it came from a manuscript preserved by Archbishop Sheldon, and Walton is not empowered to deny this fact. The significant thing is that Walton makes no mention anywhere of the subject of this Book, or Hooker's views on the subject, although it loomed almost as large in political terms as did the doctrine of

²⁹ Gauden claimed that the manuscripts he used were in the hand of Hooker.

³⁰ *Polity*, 73ff.

the divine right of kings.³¹ Considering the number of bishops who hover over this book (Sheldon, Morley, King, Ussher), Walton's silence on this subject speaks volumes.

There is no doubt that Hooker's justification of episcopacy and the powers of bishops falls far short of what the Restoration Church considered necessary. He justifies the institution of bishops on grounds of historical precedent and of present necessity, but throughout Book VII of the *Polity* he does so in such terms as to avoid stating the doctrine of the divine right of bishops, and the unbroken succession of the powers of bishops from the apostles. Yet the reader of the Seventh Book has a continual sense of some pressure Hooker is aware of in the background, pressing him to make some such flat statement. He is constantly coming up to what seems a full statement of the High Church position, and then shying away from it at the last moment. There are several reasons to be advanced for his finding such a stand impossible. In the first place, any endorsement of the apostolic succession would of necessity render the Reformation essentially invalid, making reform possible only within the Church of Rome, and, even more essentially, invalidate the basis of the middle ground between Puritan and Catholic which it is the whole effort of the *Polity* to establish for the Church of England. The Puritans then might say that the Church of England must logically return to Rome. There was also the fact, which Houk points out, that

The theory of the apostolical succession viewed the episcopacy as an order derived not from the whole Church but descending from the apostles, a class within the Church. Hooker's theory of the Social Contract and of the sovereignty of the people was so fundamental with him that he would have been slow to accept a newly-advanced theory incompatible with it.³²

Houk also cites the fact that Hooker is opposing the claim of divine right for Presbyterian lay elders, and his argument against that institution could be applied equally against the divine right of bishops. Finally, Hooker's whole purpose was conciliation, not imposition, and in the *Polity* he is seeking constantly for a position that the Puritans could accept. The extreme claim of the bishops would certainly not be conciliatory.

Hooker concludes his argument for the powers of bishops

³¹ The quotations in *Clavi Trabales* are all from the Eighth Book!

³² *Polity*, 31.

by a passage which shows the bases he is willing to abandon as the justification of their prerogatives:

These things standing as they do, we may conclude, that albeit the offices that bishops execute had been committed unto them only by the Church, and that the superiority which they have over other pastors were not first by Christ himself given to the Apostles, and from them descended to others, but afterwards in such consideration brought in and agreed upon as is pretended; yet could not this be a just or lawful exception against it.³³

Earlier he has affirmed:

In some things every presbyter, in some things only bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other are the Apostles' successors. The Apostles were sent as special chosen eyewitnesses of Jesus Christ, from whom immediately they received their whole embassy, and their commission to be the principal first founders of an house of God, consisting as well of Gentiles as of Jews. *In this there are not after them any other like unto them:* and yet the Apostles have now their successors upon earth, their true successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that episcopal function, whereby they had power to sit as spiritual ordinary judges, both over laity and other clergy, where Churches Christian were established.³⁴

Even John Keble, who tries hard to make Hooker a High Churchman, must admit that Hooker falls short of the full High Church doctrine in this respect. He says:

At the same time it is undeniable, that . . . we may discern a marked distinction between that which now perhaps we may venture to call the school of Hooker, and that of Laud, Hammond, and Leslie, in the two next generations. . . . He (Hooker) did not feel at liberty to press unreservedly, and develope in all its consequences, that part of the argument, which they, taught by the primitive Church, regarded as the most vital and decisive: the necessity, namely, of the apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace, and to the mystical communion with Christ.³⁵

On this whole question, then, Walton is explicitly silent. But not implicitly so. Walton has been given a way of getting Hooker's backing for the full doctrine of apostolic succession, in his clever identification of Hooker with the figure of Saravia. Their friendship begins when Hooker comes to his parish of Borne, and their intimacy continues until Hooker's illness and death. During his illness, Walton says, Saravia "saw him daily,

³³ Hooker, *Polity*, VII, xi, 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, iv, 4. Italics mine.

³⁵ Keble, *Works*, I, p. lxxvii.

and was the chief comfort of his life", and Saravia hears his last confession, administers to him the sacraments, and is at his side when he dies. Saravia is identified as "about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury," and the titles of his tracts on episcopacy are prominently cited. He was, in fact, one of the earliest Protestant exponents of the apostolic succession; he had fled from the Low Countries to England when his views became known. Keble points out³⁶ that the publication of his three tractates coincided closely with Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross in 1589, "the first express development of high church principles here." The title of Saravia's first treatise is "Concerning the various degrees of Ministers of the Gospel, as they were instituted by the Lord, and delivered on by the Apostles, and confirmed by constant use of all Churches."

Here it is pertinent to note that in the 1670 edition of the *Lives* Walton was constrained to add the incident that the *Life of Hooker* now includes, of Hooker's temporary expulsion in 1579 from Corpus Christi, along with his tutor, Dr. Reynoldes. Walton reprints the letter of protest Reynoldes wrote to Sir Francis Knolles, but he makes no mention of the cause of the expulsion, or of the doctrinal persecution of Reynoldes, with whom Hooker was thus so closely linked. Walton shows enough knowledge of the Elizabethan political scene in his sketch of Hooker's times to have known on what side Sir Francis Knolles was, if not Dr. Reynoldes. And some notice of this case might well have been in the University records which Walton consulted very carefully for the facts about all his subjects.

These two were excluded from their fellowships probably because they opposed the election of an orthodox Churchman to the presidency of Corpus Christi, and supported the candidacy of Reynoldes himself.³⁷ Reynoldes was prominent among the Presbyterians right up to the time of the Hampton Court Conference four years after Hooker's death. Although he conformed at that time, he was far to the left, in Church politics, of the doctrines of Saravia. Walton also does not mention that, until his death, Hooker was also in close touch with Reynoldes; it is of record that he intended to send him a copy of the Sixth Book of the *Polity* for comment.

Walton, while making no mention of Reynoldes' politics,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. lxxv.

³⁷ Sisson, *The Judicious Marriage*, 10.

or of Hooker's intimacy with him, uses Hooker's intimacy with Saravia to imply strongly a complete doctrinal agreement between them. He describes Saravia as one who had "studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrifledge," sketches the way he controverted Beza, and then brings Hooker in cleverly at the end of the passage. Would any lay reader escape the conclusion that Hooker and Saravia agree on all points? Walton says:

but of these Tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful Patron John Whitgift the Archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiasticall Polity.

We even have Whitgift's patronage lending support to the assumption. Could Whitgift be assumed to patronize at the same time two men who disagreed on so fundamental a doctrine?

Walton makes it more explicit in the next paragraph, where he goes on to say that "Mr. Hooker . . . was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a Controversie *too like Dr. Saravia's*." They begin their "holy friendship . . . increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, *that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same*."³⁸ It is clear, whether or not he realizes what he is doing (and I am sure he does not), that Walton is lending the weight of this *Life* to the propagation of the false idea that Hooker was a full supporter of the doctrine of the apostolic succession.³⁹

It is significant that John Keble, the ablest editor of the *Polity*, lets himself be led to the same conclusion, in full contradiction of the evidence from the pen of Hooker himself. Keble says:

And since Saravia was afterwards in familiar intercourse with Hooker, and his confidential adviser when writing on nearly the same subject, we may with reason use the recorded opinions of the one for interpreting what might seem otherwise ambiguous in the other.⁴⁰

This would be a justifiable process only if Hooker were in truth

³⁸ Italics mine.

³⁹ It is perhaps significant that Hooker and Saravia and the defence of episcopacy are also joined in *Clavi Trabales*, which contains the text of a letter by Saravia to his former parishioners on the Channel Islands, arguing for the rights of the episcopal courts.

⁴⁰ Keble, *Works*, I, p. lxxvii.

ambiguous. But on the subject of apostolic succession, he is far from that. On the same grounds we might use the opinions of Reynoldes to interpret Hooker's conclusion.⁴¹

Walton's *Life of Hooker*, then, is not only, or even primarily, intended for a work of biography for its own sake, or even, as is the case of his other *Lives*, for the sake of piety and holy example. It is principally a subtle and powerful identification of one of the greatest figures of English theology with the full doctrine of the Restoration Church. It has long been known to be a slanted picture of the man. I think the conclusion is unavoidable that it is an even more biased version of his doctrines on absolute monarchy and the apostolic succession, and that the details in the picture of the man have been selected to secure the purpose of those who sought to take advantage of their distortion of his doctrines.

41 Keble obviously does not entirely accept the strength of his own statement, for he goes on to attribute to Hooker the opinions (and inferentially the authorship) of an anonymous Latin treatise, *Querimonia Ecclesia*. He must then confess, a few pages later (xcv), that there are no grounds at all for assuming Hooker to be the author.

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SPRING MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

April 23-24, 1948

The American Society of Church History held its twenty-fourth annual spring meeting (fifty-sixth consecutive meeting) on Friday and Saturday, April 23-24, 1948, in St. Louis, Missouri, at the Eden and Concordia Theological Seminaries.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting was opened at 2:00 P. M. in the Eden Theological Seminary by Vice-President Winthrop S. Hudson. Thirty-two members and guests were present.

The general theme of the sessions was "American Denominations and the Ecumenical Movement." The following papers were presented within the frame-work of the general theme: "Congregationalists," by Professor Mervin M. Deems of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago; "Methodists" by Professor Robert W. Goodloe of Southern Methodist University; "Disciples" by Dean Frederick D. Kershner of Butler University. In the absence of Dean Kershner, his paper was read by Professor Frank Ablert of Butler University.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

At 6:30 P. M. the members of the Society and their guests met for dinner in the refectory of the Concordia Theological Seminary. Words of greeting were spoken by President Louis J. Sieck of Concordia Theological Seminary, after which the business session of the Society was called to order. The minutes of the last spring meeting were approved as printed in the June 1947 issue of *Church History*. The acting Secretary reported the actions taken at the meeting of the Council, including a report of deaths, resignations, and the election of new members. Professor Percy Norwood then placed before the Society the recommendation of the Council that Professor Winthrop S. Hudson be advanced to the presidency for the

remainder of the year due to the inability of Professor Cyril C. Richardson to serve. The recommendation was adopted unanimously. The business meeting adjourned at 7:30 P. M.

The paper of the evening, "An Approach Toward Ecumenicity in Christian Theology," was presented by Professor Allen Miller of Eden Theological Seminary. He was introduced by Professor Richard R. Caemmerer of Concordia Theological Seminary, a member of the program committee.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

The Saturday morning session was called to order at 9:00 o'clock by President Hudson. The following papers were presented: "Presbyterians," by Professor L. J. Trinterud of McCormick Theological Seminary; "Anglicans," by Dean Alden D. Kelley of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary; and "Lutherans," by Professor E. Theodore Bachmann of Chicago Lutheran Seminary. After an interesting discussion, the Society adjourned at 11:45 A. M.

SIDNEY E. MEAD,
Acting Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

April 23, 1948

The Council of the American Society of Church History met at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, at 5:00 P. M. on April 23, 1948, with Vice-President Winthrop S. Hudson presiding. Present were Winthrop S. Hudson, Sidney E. Mead, Percy Norwood, and Ernest G. Schwiebert.

The Minutes of the meeting of April 11, 1947 were approved as printed in *Church History* for June, 1947.

The following changes in membership were reported: Resignations: David E. Swift, Elizabeth Twaddell (Mrs. W. H. Pope, and J. A. Sittler, Jr.; Deaths: Rev. John Comin, and President-Emeritus William N. Schwarze.

By unanimous vote of the Council, the following persons were elected members of the Society, subject to the fulfillment of the constitutional requirements:

George D. Alley	Y. M. van der Kroef
Peter Dalbert	John H. Kromminga
Robert H. Fischer	Otto Reimherr
Leroy Edwin Froom	F. Ocokoljich
Robert T. Handy	H. Clay Reed
Kenneth E. Heim	Augustus R. Suelflow
George B. King	Theodore Louis Trost
William H. Klaustermeyer	John R. Tufft

Dr. Hudson read a letter from Professor Cyril S. Richardson (addressed to Dr. R. W. Albright) stating with regret that he would be unable to serve as President of the Society this year. The members of the Council agreed to suggest that Mr. Hudson, duly elected Vice-President, be elevated to the position of President for the remainder of the year. (At the dinner meeting of the Society that evening, the members of the Society voted unanimously that this should be done, the question being put by Professor Percy Norwood.)

The Secretary was instructed to express the appreciation

of the members of the Society of the Presidents of the two host Seminaries, Eden and Concordia, for the gracious hospitality extended for these meetings.

Upon the suggestion that the Spring Meeting for 1949 should be held in Chicago, Professor L. J. Trinterud of McCormick Theological Seminary was appointed chairman of the Committee of Program and Arrangements with power to appoint other members to work with him.

The Council adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

SIDNEY E. MEAD,
Acting Secretary.

BOOK REVIEWS

GOSPEL RECORDS OF THE MESSAGE AND MISSION OF JESUS CHRIST:

A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION

By ALBERT CASSALL WIEAND. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House,
1947. Pp. 266. \$3.00.

Since the days of Tatian in the late second century, presentations of the parallelisms of the Gospels have recurrently been given in varying form and fulness. Each of these presentations has had its own distinctive features and value. To the list of good ones this volume will now be added. It is the work of the President-Professor Emeritus of the Bethany Seminary of the Brethren, and is the precipitate of thirty years' experience as student and teacher of the Life of Christ to college and seminary students. It is ample evidence that these have been fruitful years for the teacher and, it is easy to believe, for the students as well.

The author believes that the Gospels are soundly historical and dependable, each has its own story to tell, and must be allowed to tell that story without control from any other source. A "harmony" is for him a pedagogical device by means of which the parallelisms are so presented as to "facilitate all kinds of comparative study of them." This "harmony" has several distinctive features: it uses the text of the Revised Standard Version; it analyzes the text very minutely, in all 255 sections; each line of the text presents an essential idea, and in each instance is placed parallel with the same material in the other Gospels, thus exhibiting clearly both basic agreements and contrasts "in colorful details." One entirely new feature is the paragraph title that is placed at the left margin of every paragraph: these are so arranged in associated sequence as to give a graphic outline of the Gospel story; and the student may see at a glance the central content of any paragraph.

Outlines, outline maps, and notes add to the helpfulness of the work. It deserves, and will be given, a warm welcome by many teachers and students of the Gospels.

Berkeley Baptist Divinity School.

John W. Bailey.

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH

By ROBERT M. GRANT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. 194. \$2.50.

In sixteen brief and well-written chapters Dr. Grant has given precisely what the subtitle styles this book: a short history of interpretation. And there is a distinct place for such a volume, for one of the most lamentable weaknesses in the contemporary training of ministers and budding

seminary teachers is their knowledge — or lack of it — of the history of Christian thought, especially as it applies to the Bible. This book attempts in part to meet this need — I say *in part*, for, as the author would be the first to admit, it is a very brief and, at times, sketchy account. Nonetheless it is amazing to see how many figures, too many of whom will be scarcely more than names, he introduces in this rapid review.

The first three chapters, to me the least significant in the book, deal with the use of the old Testament by Jesus, by Paul, by the author of Hebrews, and by occasional other New Testament figures. The main emphasis is sound, namely, that the Old Testament — the early Christian Bible — became essentially an armory of proof texts to establish and justify the works of Jesus. Or as the author phrases it, the New Testament method was generally that of typology.

The subsequent chapters will probably prove more valuable, or at least fresher, to the average reader. In rapid strokes he sets forth the nature of biblical interpretation of such second-century figures as Barnabas, Marcion, Irenaeus and Ptolemaeus. His sympathetic treatment of the latter's important, and often overlooked, *Letter to Flora* is distinctly valuable. Then follows a brief but clear picture of the type of thinking which flourished in Alexandria — allegorical interpretation — culminating in the work of Origen, which Harnack, not without justification, styled "biblical alchemy" — and the soberer but often painfully literal approach of the school of Antioch, Eustathius, Theodore, Isho'dad, Chrysostom, Jerome (at first a pupil of Origen and consequently a devotee to allegory until weaned after his residence at Antioch), all make their appearance and are deftly presented.

The chapter entitled "The Authoritative Interpretation" gives an excellent picture of the increasing rigidity of standard made possible — inevitable? — by a developing church in the works of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, and Vincent of Lerinum. Rapid chapters, "The Bible in the Middle Ages" and "The Bible and the Reformation," follow, with reference to the prevalence of allegorization resulting in the insistence that every word of scripture had at least four sets of meanings: historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical — and some interpreters discovered three more! After brief mention of the eccentric views of Joachim of Flora, he next presents Thomas Aquinas, with his emphasis upon a literal interpretation of scripture and divorce of theology from exegesis, culminating in the justly famed *Summa*, but yet in such a way that not only Antioch but Alexandria could both claim him as their spiritual heir. The discussion of the emphases of the Reformers is brief but pointed, with a clear contrast between Luther's enthusiastic claim, *scriptura scripturae interpretis*, and the more cautious objective type of interpretation of Calvin. Then follow chapters on the rise of rationalism, the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic modernism, modern Protestant interpretation, and the outlook for today and tomorrow.

Much of the book is unqualifiedly good. The author obviously has read widely—whether his reading has been principally in the Fathers themselves or of judiciously chosen volumes about them is not always clear —

but the result is a well-balanced, if distinctly elementary, introduction to a long neglected subject.

A good many queries rose in my mind as I read and annotated. Is it as clear as the author would suggest that Jesus identified himself with the suffering servant of Isaiah 53? Are we justified in feeling that it was Jesus who made the differentiations reported in the gospels which would have been intolerable to "normative Judaism"? Really did the prophets look forward to Jesus? (Perhaps this latter query is unfair, for the author himself adds a distinct and wholesome qualification here). Is Paul familiar with the "passion narrative"? Did he know "collections of Jesus' sayings"? Both statements have been frequently made, but so have many other unwarranted and even silly utterances. The discussion of Spinoza is excellent and lively, but I missed any mention of Reimarus, and felt that the passing reference to Thomas Woolston (the sole mention of the Deists) unfortunate, if not downright misleading. The discussion of F. C. Baur, while brief, was distinctly fairer and more intelligent than the easy dismissals he usually rates today, but the reference to David Strauss was far from adequate, even in so brief a book.

At the end of the chapter, "The Nineteenth Century," I had a real suspicion as to the conclusions he would reach in the last two chapters. The casual reference to the old critics, as pioneers, cutting down forests with abandon, and the easy prophecy that the axe of criticism will be only one of the tools of criticism in the future appeared to me revealing, if not ominous. They were. In the last pages the author frankly espouses neoorthodoxy, although he does it in a deal more sober and restrained way than do many of his colleagues. While he is scrupulous in insisting that critical work on the scriptures has been and still is necessary and that the theologian must use these results, he nonetheless evidences the feeling that the recrudescence of biblical theology is the most hopeful sign of the times, and that Barth is really the Protestant Moses who will lead Protestant exegesis on to new tasks, if not into the promised land.

His statements are so restrained that one hesitates to quarrel with him — except in the wretched trick of printing his footnotes at the end of the book. No criticism of an author or publisher who does this can be too drastic. I am far from easy at his casual references to hypercriticism, to the ever more popular view that critical studies are well-nigh bankrupt. Of course, the gospels were not written to be objective records but were the expression of faith and were intended to spur faith. What sober biblical critic in the last three decades has denied it? Still the question is a valid one: is it not possible to see what led the early writers to their increasing confidence? Is it legitimate to dismiss airily the still obscure problem of the relation of Christianity to the other salvation cults with a flippant reference to the TAUROBOLIUM being three centuries after Paul's preaching about dying and rising in baptism? Is it fair to say that since we cannot be sure just what sort of man Jesus was we also cannot be sure what sort of figure he was not? Superficially that may seem cautious and warranted, but the longer one grapples with this claim — in the form which the critic of early Christianity knows it — the less satisfied one will (or should) be. When a man has climbed the eaves of a

three-story house and has grasped the gutter, it is not always prudent to kick the ladder, up which he has climbed, from under his feet. He may still need it. This homely fact seems singularly elusive to many of the more rabidly neoorthodox biblical theologians.

A book which raises, or suggests, questions to the reader is always of value. This is one such. It does not have all the answers, does not in fact raise all the questions or even survey all the evidence. It would be too much to expect. It does, in a short and readable compass, introduce the general reader to some thinkers and near-thinkers in the past, and, in part at least, suggests some of the reasons why at the moment we find ourselves in our present nervous anxiety to turn the hands of the clock back.

Crozer Theological Seminary.

Morton S. Enslin.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

By ERNEST WILLIAM BARNES. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947. Pp. xx, 356. \$4.00.

The Bishop of Birmingham has done for his generation in England what others have done in other countries or at other times. He has put into one compact and readable volume an analysis of the historic emergence of the Christian movement. He deals not only with the immediate background, but also in a masterly preliminary chapter with the remote background of Christianity. A hundred pages are devoted to Jesus and the gospels; half that amount to Paul and his writings; and half that space to Peter and books ascribed to him. Other parts of the New Testament receive only partial and less systematic attention, but the second-century Christian writings, that is, the Apostolic Fathers and the Early Apologists, provide material for much of his later chapters.

Little exception can be taken to his treatment of the historic background, whether Christian or non-Christian. He presents effectively, if briefly, the moral and intellectual climate within and without Christianity. He recognizes the features of the religious milieu in which Christianity spread, the limitations of both philosophic and popular thought, and the points of agreement in the Christians themselves—their credulous acceptance of miracles, their trend toward magic, the limitations of their logic. But he also gives due recognition to the high morality of the Christian movement as its glory and its power.

His literary criticism operates within entirely legitimate limits. His views of the gospels accord with the common views of liberal scholars, though the more recent school of form criticism has not touched him. He holds to the later rather than to the earlier dates for the gospels. More unfamiliar and more radical is his treatment of Paul. Though he finds genuine Pauline material in only nine letters, even parts of them he rejects. For example, I Corinthians contains for him not merely a collection of Pauline fragments but several later and independent Christian writings. Just how Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles came into existence he does not say. He puts great stress on the *Didache* as an early historical source.

"The earliest draft cannot well have been later than A. D. 95." I Clement, which is usually given that date, he now puts about A. D. 125. Ingatius he assigns not near A. D. 110 but "thirty or forty years later." While one recognizes his reasons for some of his judgments—the simple nature of his presentation forbids his marshalling of supporting modern bibliography—others are unfamiliar and one suspects based upon his views of evolution of Church practice.

Particularly in the case of Paul he is unwilling to date back to the Apostle the literal view of resurrection, of apocalyptic, of the sacramental or magical character of the Eucharist, and like positions. He comes to the conclusions that chapters 7, 10, 11, 13 and 15 of I Corinthians, or most of them, are not genuine pieces of Pauline writing. One cannot help feeling that these judgments rest on the critic's view of historical development rather than on more objective literary phenomena. To reject so much of Paul and to accept so much of the sayings of Jesus savors of the process of swallowing a camel while straining out the gnat. Paul is a many-sided person. This indeed the bishop recognizes. More than is now the tendency, he accepts the influence upon Paul of paganism. Few scholars would go so far as to say that "in youth Paul himself had apostatized" from Judaism "in order to conform to the worship of city gods required of Tarsian citizens" and that "if Paul had passed through this phase his temperament would probably have brought him into the atmosphere of the mystery religions." I doubt if Tarsus required pagan sacrifice of Jewish citizens or if Mithraism was known there in Paul's youth, as Dr. Barnes implies (p. 199).

The publisher's jacket states: "Save for a single sentence in the Preface, Dr. Barnes nowhere reveals his own religious position." This seems to me understatement. It is evident throughout that in spite of the objective manner, the author himself has definite views. His positive appreciation of Jesus' moral insight and of the ethical strength of the Christian movement is enthusiastically expressed. Negatively, towards miracle and magic he counts himself a scientist and Christian humanist. Even objectivity is an attitude that can at least arouse the ire of the orthodox. For them it is often worse than sheer denial.

It is already known in America that this volume and its author have been severely criticized by the highest authorities in the Church. Perhaps that is because he is a bishop; they might tolerate more in a layman or a minor cleric. As I have said, much of the discussion moves within the familiar range of criticism. Dr. Barnes' variations here are not such as to arouse extreme hostility. One has a right to a different opinion about the date of a document or even the historicity of a minor event. I would guess that the trouble rests elsewhere. Dr. Barnes rejects the two most cherished miracles of the Creed, the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection. He dissociates from Jesus the form and the meaning of the two sacraments, baptism and eucharist. Perhaps worst of all he indicates that in its original purity Christianity was a socialist, pacifist movement. Are these not reasons enough? Perhaps three quotations will illustrate these points:

"If biological research should show that in humanity [as with unfertilized frogs' eggs] a virgin birth could take place, and that therefore the 'miracle' of

the virgin birth of Jesus was not impossible, those who now regard the miracle as essential to the Christian faith would feel disquieted. It would be asked why the son of God should be born in a manner common among the insects rather than by a normal human process" (p. 88).

"We must emphasize that, in the opinion of the large majority of independent scholars, Jesus neither instituted sacraments nor founded a church. An independent scholar we define as one who does not feel bound to reach conclusions prescribed by the Christian communion to which he belongs."

"There was, in fact, between the imperial government and a religious sect which abjured the use of force a struggle that lasted for three hundred years. In the end the sect, socialist, pacifist, anti-nationalist, won. The modern world may well consider whether the same sect, if it returns anew to its old ideals, will not have a similar triumph on an even large scale."

No review can do the book justice for all readers. If it is to remain a controversial classic they had better read it for themselves. Dr. Barnes regrets that for our knowledge of the second century "we have to learn of heretics from authors who wrote to combat their views." He himself will probably suffer from a similar disadvantage, but in his case that is not necessary. Even those familiar with the period under discussion will find much that is well summarized or freshly pointed. The capacity for synthesis and the arrangement may arouse admiration. Occasional sallies at modern parallels to ancient foibles are refreshing.

My own disagreements are comparatively slight. Apart from the points already indicated I think he attributes too much in early Christianity to the actual influence of mystery-religions. I do not find in Lysanias (Luke iii. 1, p. 77) evidence of misreading of Josephus, nor in Melchizedek (Heb. vii. 3, p. 91) a doctrine of Christ without any parents, nor in Jesus "a love of nature" (p. 128). Philemon is not quite the shortest "book" in the New Testament (p. 241) since two Johannine Epistles are shorter. *Codex Bezae* is inaccurately quoted on page 176. Mark xiii is called a Jewish tract (p. 136) but later apparently a Christian one (p. 225).

For the general reader it is a real service that non-canonical writings are quoted *in extenso* in English and not merely referred to. The "books which may be consulted" are also in English. I note hardly any American-born authors among them, but that is hardly because Americans are more conservative!

Harvard University.

Henry J. Cadbury.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LITURGY

By J. H. SRAWLEY. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1947. Pp. xviii, 240. \$2.50.

This is the second edition of a standard text in the Cambridge Liturgical Handbooks. The first edition appeared in 1913, but a great deal of water has flowed under the liturgical bridge since then, and Dr. Srawley has brought his book up to date. It is an excellent compendium of liturgical information not easily accessible elsewhere, and the author's balanced judgment is reflected in the way he handles his materials. He has been able to analyze some of the arguments presented by Don Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, and sometimes disposes of them.

There are, of course, minor points on which one would wish further information or a different conclusion. For example, in dealing with Pliny's report (pp. 28-30) I may suggest that comparison of Livy xxxix. 8 and 18 tends to show that Pliny had this passage in mind and interpreted his evidence in its light. Therefore it is still more difficult to determine what he meant, or rather what he heard. There is no reference to the meeting of Anicetus and Polycarp at Rome (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24. 15 and 17), where we find the origin of the *fermentum*. The antiquity of the liturgy in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, rejected by Srawley (pp. 88f.), is rendered more probable by parallels in Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* i. 6-7 (discussed in *HTR* 40, 231f., and in a forthcoming *ATR*). The date of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus is set at 197 by C. C. Richardson in *ATR* 30, 38-44. And the "ancient liturgy of Addai and Mari" (p. 117) can probably be shown to come from the seventh century; in a forthcoming book B. H. Jones shows that it develops by degeneration from *Nestorius* and *Theodore*.

Anyone could pick out three or four favorite items which he thought neglected. But he could hardly find more than four, and this to my mind proves the excellence of Srawley's treatment. For those who wish to understand the formative period of the Eucharist this is an indispensable guide.

University of the South.

Robert M. Grant.

BOOKS OF FAITH AND POWER

By JOHN T. McNEILL. New York: Harper and Bros., 1947. Pp. 183. \$2.00.

One of the features of Protestantism today is the recovery of the sense of standing in a great tradition. However, this tradition is often sentimentalized and treated without historical accuracy. Professor McNeill's volume presents six Protestant classics and places each carefully in its historical setting.

The book is a rare combination of scrupulous accuracy and literary grace; and will be of great value to scholar and layman alike. Dr. McNeill's treatment is sympathetic but objective, so that the reader gains an appreciation of the driving power of the books and also a sense of their importance and limitations as Christian classics.

The classics selected are Luther's *On Christian Liberty* (better known as *The Freedom of a Christian Man*), Calvin's *Institutes*, Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Law's *Serious Call* and Wesley's *Journal*. This selection reflects at once great catholicity of taste and was made, so the author tells us, "with a view to variety of material rather than with purpose to secure the cumulative effect of a series of similar writings." That he succeeds in his aim is apparent when we compare the passionate enthusiasm of Luther with the urbane rationalism of Hooker, the sophisticated theology of Calvin with the imaginative fiction of Bunyan, the restricted contacts of Law with the ubiquitous activity of Wesley. Yet we are made to feel at home with each of these heroes of faith as we move through the chapter about him.

For this is more than a digest of great books. It is an introduction to great souls whose peculiar strengths are illustrated along with their foibles. As a result we are helped to plumb the experiences from which the writings arose and thus to apprehend the religious quality of the latter. Though Dr. McNeill does not attempt to give extended "critical introductions" to the works treated, the carefully weighed results of mature scholarship are presented, so that anyone doing scholarly work on these classics can afford to consult this volume and the footnotes which it includes.

It is to be hoped that the author will introduce us in further volumes to other great books of faith and power.

Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

Edwin E. Aubrey.

AMERICAN OVERTURE: JEWISH RIGHTS IN COLONIAL TIMES

By ABRAM VOSSEN GOODMAN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947. Pp. 265. \$3.00.

This is a useful work to be placed beside the numerous studies that have appeared in the last fifteen or twenty years on the subject of the Jews in American life. For his material Mr. Goodman has used the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society, some manuscript collections, printed colonial records and recent studies by such writers as Rabbi Gutstein, Mr. Friedman, and Miss Lebeson. In a sense Mr. Goodman gives a panoramic view of Jewish rights and concludes that "The retorts of the colonial laboratory distilled the doctrine of the rights of man as master of his own conscience, recognizing that one's religious dogma was a personal matter between oneself and the Master of the universe." To be sure, Mr. Goodman recognizes two forces at work on the American scene, "tribal fanaticism and neighborly understanding." The former force is still operative in many areas of society, but it is the latter force he emphasizes in this study: "When the colonies first recognized the Jew as a man and an equal, they made a covenant in the heavens for justice and brotherhood. That covenant is still remembered." Let us hope that this optimism is justified.

Mr. Goodman gives considerable evidence that the colonies treated the Jews with substantial justice. Yet he presents enough of the other side to show that this justice was relative to the conditions of Jews in the Europe of that day. He believes that the Jews never numbered over one thousand in all the colonies, and although he holds that the Puritans' "treatment of the Jews remains without a black mark," he conjectures that "they might have suffered from harsher treatment" had they been more numerous. This admission weakens considerably his praise for the colonies' relatively fair treatment of the Jews. Yet in another place he ventures the view that an increase in their numbers would not have curtailed their rights: "If Jews had been in sufficient numbers to organize a congregation, perhaps they too would have secured the same exemption" (the exemption from support of the established church

in Connecticut). We cannot, of course, go too far in speculating on the rights the Jews might have had if population ratios had been different.

Mr. Goodman has organized his material geographically, taking us from colony to colony as it were to witness the developing rights of Jews in each. His presentation might have been improved had he organized the materials according to the rights sought and usually gained, namely rights to hold property; to organize a synagogue; to engage in wholesale and retail trade; to vote; to hold office; etc. As it is, one must jump from chapter to chapter to compare the rights won. But that is probably a minor matter. This is an important study and a timely one.

Monticello College, Alton, Illinois.

Warren Griffiths.

VIRGINIA'S MOTHER CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT GREW

By GEORGE MACLAREN BRYDON. Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society, 1948. Pp. xxii, 571. \$7.50.

This book deals with the years 1607 to 1727, the period throughout which "the Church of England was the only organized and continuing form of religion which ministered throughout the whole colony all the time" (p. vii). This period was also the formative one in which were begun some of the unique characteristics developed by Virginia Anglicanism, particularly the vestry system. The parish as a *geographical* unit was brought over from England; but the vestry—a continuing group of elected laymen (though often a self-perpetuating group) who governed the temporal affairs of the Church within the parish and called the rector—was something new; something evoked by the peculiar conditions of life in colonial Virginia where no bishop exercised discipline over the clergy and no patron built the Church edifice and controlled the advowson; something of inestimable importance in preserving and developing local self-government in every sphere of activity. This period was also the one in which, to make good in some degree the manifold defects caused the Anglican Church by the complete absence of a bishop, the office of commissary was instituted, in which the earliest missionary ventures were undertaken and the Church's most significant educational contribution (the College of William and Mary) was made. It was indeed the formative period.

Dr. Brydon has written the history of Virginia's Mother Church in the right way; that is to say, in relation to its environment. He keeps his readers constantly aware that the people who composed it were planters and farmers, that their fortunes were at the mercy of a one-crop economy and that the value of tobacco fluctuated constantly, that some of them were in conflict with royal governors and struggling to protect and develop local self-government, that in the back of their minds were the dangers of Indian attacks and uprisings of the slaves, that means of communication were bad and slow. Inevitably they brought to their activities as churchmen thought-patterns and ideals and prejudices inculcated by these other concerns, as well as having their political and economic functions affected

in varying degrees by a perspective and standards cultivated in the Church. Far more than most historians he tells the story of the Church in relation to the total life of the colony and of its English background. In my judgment this is one of the best features of the book, though I wish he had been still clearer in pointing out just how events in the "secular" sphere affected happenings in the Church.

Dr. Brydon has brought out more clearly than any previous writer the importance of Sir Edwyn Sandys (and this is one of the very significant revaluations of this book), and also of Bishops Compton and Gibson of London, the strength and weaknesses of Commissary Blair (to whom, I must confess, I think he devotes a disproportionate amount of space), the real stature of Governors Andros and Spottswood. He seems to me to have done justice to the part played by great individuals in the history of the Church, as well as to the importance of economic and allied factors.

One result of Dr. Brydon's telling the story of the Church in relation to its total environment is that he enables the reader to appreciate more adequately than other writers in this field the nature and extent of the influence exerted by Virginia's Mother Church on the life of the colony.

Massive learning has gone into this book—the best secondary sources, vestry-books and letters, official reports sent back to England and the proceedings of the legislature. The source materials printed in the appendices are of especial value.

Brydon is an avowed partisan of Virginia's Mother Church. Gleeefully he attacks misinterpretations of it based on inadequate information, misreading of facts, ecclesiastical animus or the vagaries of imaginations unrestrained by facts. For instance, he has rendered genuine service alike to historical accuracy and the Church's reputation by refuting some of the imputations of previous authors that the Virginia clergy in the 17th century as a whole were disreputable, lazy, avaricious by showing specifically what the parsons did, against how few of them proceedings were pressed or serious complaints sustained by the authorities, how many of them served long terms to the evident satisfaction and edification of their parishioners.

This book is so crammed with facts that it is hard plodding and dull in places. It is not without bias. It is of great value for reference. Without question it is the standard book on its subject.

Virginia Theological Seminary.

Alexander C. Zabriskie.

ALBERTUS C. VAN RAALTE, AND HIS DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By ALBERT HYMA. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1947. Pp. 280. \$3.00.

In 1946, just a century after van Raalte and a group of his followers sailed from Rotterdam, the author of this volume came into possession of some 3,000 documents from the old van Raalte home near Holland, Michigan. Dr. Hyma is thus placed in a position of authority concerning the "Pilgrim Fathers of the Nineteenth Century" (the title of chapter III).

The volume is not so much a biography as a documentation of an episode in American history. There were indeed Separatists in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth! They too sought religious freedom and economic opportunity in America. Van Raalte and about a hundred other Dutch settlers arrived in New York on November 17, 1846. By way of Albany and Buffalo most of the group reached Detroit in December. Van Raalte himself went on a scouting trip through southwestern Michigan, and before the end of January, 1847, had chosen the site of his settlement.

Albertus Christiaan van Raalte (1811-1876) as a leader of the Dutch settlers is acclaimed by the author as "so great a figure that all others were dwarfed by his giant personality" (p. 89). The chief weakness of the book is its failure to convey a lifelike portrayal of its principal character. The son of a minister, van Raalte himself became a Separatist while at the University of Leiden. In 1846, after a little more than a decade as a Separatist minister, he and a few of his associates began to plan for the emigration to America of some of their number. He collaborated in drawing up the Arnhem Compact in April, but before the end of August he and his family had decided to migrate. In this country he raised money, purchased large holdings in Ottawa County, Michigan, and encouraged thousands of Dutch immigrants to settle there. In 1850 he was influential in uniting his Separatist churches with the Reformed Church. This led to the Secession of 1857 and the establishment of the Christian Reformed Church. Van Raalte did many things to promote business and education, as well as religion, in the Dutch settlements. All the documents of his good works, however, fail to render him as more than a vague and somewhat mysterious personality—perhaps even to Dr. Hyma. He decides that van Raalte "was in a sense a dictator or despot, for that is what he chose to be for the welfare of his people" (p. 253).

The book corrects a number of misconceptions about such things as van Raalte's education, his travels in America, and his relation to the Reformed Church. It will be a required reference for the next person who undertakes to write the history of religion in these United States—and divided churches.

Kalamazoo College.

Raymond L. Hightower.

JACOB MOUNTAIN, FIRST LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC

A STUDY IN CHURCH AND STATE, 1793-1825

By THOMAS R. MILLMAN. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press. 1947. Pp. 320. \$4.00.

Disestablishment and republicanism had gone hand in hand when the thirteen American colonies gained their independence and set up their federal government. In the eyes of observing neighbors who were concerned for both monarchy and episcopacy, perhaps this seemed a belated confirmation of James I's dictum, "No bishop, no king." John Graves Simcoe, first lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada (includ-

ing Quebec and Ontario), was apprehensive of the possible infiltration of subversive political ideas from across the border, now that the United States was a going concern even though Canada had resisted the appeals of the revolutionaries to join them while their cause still hung in the balance. Simcoe opined that (as Millman expresses it) "one of the best ways to prevent the spread of republican democratic independence was to strengthen those institutions which upheld 'distinction of ranks' and were closely connected with monarchical government," and that "foremost among these institutions was an established church with a bishop at its head." So Simcoe wrote in 1790 to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I am decisively of opinion that a Regular Episcopal Establishment, subordinate to Great Britain, is absolutely necessary to any extensive colony which this country means to preserve"; and to the Home Secretary: "I hold it to be indispensably necessary that a Bishop should be immediately established in Upper Canada."

Jacob Mountain was his man. He was sent out in 1793 as bishop of the new see, and continued in that post for thirty-two years. It is not necessary to suppose that the governor regarded religion merely as an instrument of statecraft; he was, in fact, a devout believer as well as an ardent churchman. But he had an administrative task to perform, and he saw the church and the bishop as necessary tools for its performance. Mountain was thoroughly sympathetic with this idea. Furthermore, he was the type of ecclesiastic who regards close linkage between the church and the state, with consequent support of the church from public funds and official status and prestige for its bishop, as essential to the church in the performance of its spiritual function.

Even in his own day there was some grumbling about his title, "Lord Bishop." A royal order conferring that title, and with it the right to a seat in the legislative council, was issued at the time of his appointment, but there was delay in its delivery and further delay in putting it into effect. Mountain clamored in protest against this as "an evil of great magnitude."

The story of Bishop Mountain's three decades of service is that of an energetic and faithful shepherd of a widely scattered flock. He planted missions and churches, promoted the establishment of schools, and insisted upon high standards of zeal, morality, discretion and scholarship for his clergy. He also wrought and wrangled assiduously to get what he thought was coming from the government to the church and to the clergy and to himself as bishop. His retirement, when he was 73 and in ill health, was delayed because he was not willing to settle for a pension of £1,500 after he had enjoyed a stipend of £3,000, and he died while the matter was pending.

All this has points of likeness and points of contrast with the development of religion south of the Canadian border. The contrasts grow out of the fact that Canada had an almost solid body of Roman Catholics in Quebec and a preponderance of Anglicans over "dissenters" elsewhere, and that the government took a very active part in both Anglican and Roman Catholic affairs. Toleration for Catholics had been assured both by the 1763 Treaty of Paris and by the Canada Act of 1791, but this meant

the right of individual Catholics to worship in their own way with the ministrations of priests in their parishes, not the right of the hierarchy to conduct the affairs of the church independently. The governors of the province were instructed to "support the protestant and direct the papal church." The first part of this commission involved also a good deal of direction of the Protestant (i. e., Anglican) church—e.g., the appointment of rectors and missionaries only on the approval of the colonial government, an arrangement which Mountain continued to support—and the second part was attended with such practical difficulties that it was never carried out, though the bishop tried his best to get it done. Millman sums it up by saying:

"It was to be Bishop Mountain's distasteful and hopeless task in the years ahead [after 1793] to be a leader in the attempt to make the Roman Catholic Church submit to a control similar to that under which his own Church labored, and to fail completely in this attempt."

While the bishop was consistently struggling to maintain what he called the "constitutional preponderance" of Anglicanism over both Roman Catholicism and dissent, he was agitated and apprehensive as he saw that the Catholics were getting all the better of it in their relations with the government, because they received financial support without being subjected to corresponding control.

The impossible situation in which Bishop Mountain found himself was compounded of these factors: a government which held fast to the old idea (already being exploded, especially in America) that an established church was an indispensable instrument of political control; his own conviction that the church could not be a real church or a bishop a real bishop without the prestige and perquisites derived from recognition by the government; and a diocese in which the adherents of his established church were only a minority of the population. Later Canadian Anglicans have judged rather harshly the churchmanship of this doughty Tory. Mr. Millman believes, with good reason, that they would think better of him if they would view his efforts in the light of his historical situation. He has provided a scholarly and well documented survey of all the relevant facts, and a judicious estimate of the character and services of the "Lord Bishop."

University of Chicago.

W. E. Garrison.

BISHOP BRENT: CRUSADER FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY

By ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1948. Pp. 217. \$3.75.

To be worthy of a biography two decades after his death, an American ecclesiastic indeed needs to be an outstanding person. That Charles Henry Brent was and is. It is safe to say that at the time of his death no American church official was more widely known. The phrase "everybody's Bishop" as applied to him is eloquent evidence of his well-deserved popularity. Certain of his utterances have already found a place in Christian tradition: "The World is too strong for a divided Church"; "Secretarianism, in spirit and in form, is *par excellence* the cult of the incom-

plete"; "There is no greater offense than to use a Catholic garment to hide a sectarian heart"; and (of his faith that a united Christian witness could conquer the cause of war in a generation) "I may be a fool, but if so I am God's fool."

Two of his friends, one now deceased, have given the world this faithful and moving account of his remarkable life. After the death of President Remsen B. Ogilby, of Trinity College, much of whose work he has retained, Dean Zabriskie completed the book, writing almost half of it himself. It is no superficial account but a discerning testimony to Bishop Brent's personal traits, dominant ideas, creative action, and widespread influence. It was said of him, when he died, that he had more friends than any other man of his time. It may well have been true. His peculiar gifts and deeply spiritual character commended him to all sorts of conditions of men from the time when he left his little home town in Canada to the day when he became the first missionary bishop of the Philippines, and from his Negro parish in Boston to his chairmanship of the first international conference on the opium traffic in Shanghai. Something of the same wide sweep is indicated by the decorations he received as Chief of Chaplains for the U. S. A. in France from 1917 to the end of World War I, as well as his election to the Legion of Honor (France) and the order of the Bath (England); his abiding influence in the Episcopal diocese of Western New York over which he presided for a decade; and the tributes paid to him by kings and presidents as well as church leaders when he died in Lausanne at the age of sixty-seven and was buried in the cemetery of the Cathedral which witnessed the supreme spiritual experience of his life.

The factual account of this highly diversified career is woven skillfully into a work which is particularly rich in interpretation of that in him which transcends events. Chapter 8 describes Bishop Brent's biography of Bishop Satterlee as "a good portrait, with subtle study of motives and—hardest achievement of all for a biographer—an admirable balance between the appreciative and the critical." It is a description which fits the present work admirably.

The things that led Bishop Brent to make the supreme emphasis of his life "Christian unity" are well revealed as the account progresses from his youth to his maturity. From a rich missionary experience in America's first Asiatic "colony" he went to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. There, to use his words, he was "converted . . . I learned that something was working that was not of man in that conference; that the Spirit of God . . . was preparing a new era in the history of Christianity." A passionate conviction concerning the necessity of wholeness for spiritual health in the individual and in the Church led him into a new chapter of his busy career. He began by embracing the hope that Rome could be persuaded to work for a united Christendom: but after sixteen years of conversations with Roman heirarchs, including the Pope and many Cardinals, he sadly concluded that the Roman Church "had absolutely no intention of doing anything constructive to forward Christ's will that His Church should be one, and that therefore the rest of Christendom

must proceed without regard to her, though leaving a door open for her when God should lead her to renounce sectarianism for catholicity."

Highly relevant to an increasing interest in the ecumenical movement in this year which sees the consummation of three decades of preparation for the official launching of the World Council of Churches, are the many references throughout this volume to Bishop Brent's vision, insight, common sense, and statesmanship. It is safe to say that one of the main contributions to the development of a Council which already embraces well over half of the Christians in the world through their 137 denominations was that made directly and indirectly by this missionary-soldier-author-orator-Bishop whose chief movement is the "Faith and Order" Movement.

If serious students of ecumenical issues and ideas do not read this book they will be missing something of tremendous value. If it were to be read along with the recent biography of Archbishop Söderblom, Dean Iremonger's life of William Temple, and the collected papers of John R. Mott, it would provide a remarkably full and comprehensive understanding of four modern spiritual giants and the fruit of their ministry. With varied gifts and highly diversified activities, they proved to be chosen instruments of God in bringing to pass momentous changes in the outlook and structure of the rising ecumenical movement. The hand of God has ruled and blended the products of their very different personalities; and it will require the longer perspective of history to evaluate fully their respective contributions. But it is already abundantly clear that without what Bishop Brent did a fundamentally important element would have been lacking and the movement would have been much less inclusive and far less significant. Mott stands primarily for the missionary approach to unity; Söderblom stands for the unitive effects of common ethical and social concerns; Temple and Brent stood for both of these *and* beyond them for the ecclesiastical, theological and administrative wholeness in a Church without uniformity or centralized human authority but with a deeply grounded sense of the mystic one-ness of the Body of Christ. The first two were both recognized by the Nobel Peace awards. The latter two, had they lived, might easily have received the same recognition. Bishop Brent's place in the history—like that of Archbishop Temple who succeeded him in the chairmanship of the Faith and Order conference—is secure when one recognizes that, as Arnold Toynbee points out, "the sap of life is visibly flowing once again through all the branches of our Western Christendom . . . (and) we may yet live to see our civilization . . . saved, in spite of itself, from a fatal fall by being caught up in the arms of an ancestral Church which it has vainly striven to push away and keep at arm's length." This, which William Temple called "the great new fact of our time" is due, as the volume helps one better to grasp, in no small degree to the vision and daring actions of Charles Henry Brent. The inner secret of the spiritual personality which made it possible for God to use him so mightily is singularly discernible in these well-written and fascinatingly interesting pages.

World Council of Churches.

Henry Smith Leiper.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN DELAWARE

By NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1947. Pp. 217. \$3.00.

Dr. Rightmyer, assistant professor of ecclesiastical history in the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, has added some interesting information to the ever-expanding story of Anglicanism in colonial America. The essay is not a continuous narrative but consists of a series of brief glances at various missions and phases of Anglicanism in the three lower counties of Pennsylvania which became the present state of Delaware. The materials cover the period from 1677, when the first Anglican priest arrived in the Lower Counties, to the last decade of the eighteenth century when the churches became an integral part of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

Since most of the Anglican work in this area was carried on by the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Dr. Rightmyer finds his source materials chiefly in the reports of the missionaries to S.P.G. headquarters. These he has supplemented with Delaware church records and personal papers. The result is a highly documented volume filled with facts and figures so numerous that reading of the work is sometimes tedious. Many lengthy quotations from letters probably make for human interest but interrupt the stories.

Half the volume is given to a review of the four missions, New Castle, Appoquinimy, Kent, and Sussex, arranged by the pastorates of the various missionaries. Other chapters deal with such general subjects as the church and education, support of the clergy, church buildings and services, and the relations of Anglicans with Lutherans and Methodists. Interesting appendices include "Instruction for the Clergy Employed by S.P.G.," and a "catalogue of the Missionaries' Libraries." A map of Delaware plotting the probable location of all Anglican churches in colonial Delaware is helpful.

The problems faced by colonial Anglicanism elsewhere reappear in the Delaware scene. The absence of a bishop in America prevented confirmation and ordination. Unconfirmed members were not always too loyal, and many would-be preachers were lost in the treacherous voyage to England. With inadequate salaries and poor living conditions the S.P.G. found it difficult to keep men on the stations.

In his chapter on "Churchmen, Lutherans, and Methodists," the author challenges the popular claim that cooperation of English and Swedish clergy grew out of mutual recognition of the apostolic succession of their episcopacies.

"Far from resting upon catholic grounds of apostolic succession, the documents seem to show that cooperation rested upon the fact that both were national churches, both were heavily tinged with Erastianism, and both were doctrinally latitudinarian with respect to church order at that time" (p. 97).

The emphasis upon apostolic succession which so hampers present-day discussions of cooperation and church union seems to have been almost unknown among the early leaders of the S.P.G. Men from "Lutheran

and Reformed churches in Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland were made members" of the Venerable Society. Rightmyer contends that whether "the Swedish churches were to combine with the Lutheran churches of German extraction or with the Episcopal Church was a matter of chance rather than planning" (p. 109).

Dr. Rightmyer recognizes the influence of pietism on all of the denominations and discusses the relations of staid churchmen with the Anglican pietists or Methodists. George Whitefield, the outstanding preacher of the entire eighteenth century, is chided for his "enthusiasm," but it is hardly fair to say that he turned to the Congregationalists and Presbyterians so that "he could bask in the warmth of much praise" (p. 112). Bitter Anglican opposition (to which Whitefield replied in kind) drove him to seek other congregations. Francis Asbury is pictured as constantly opposed to a Methodist break with the mother church, but "Coke had set his heart upon separation from the Episcopal Church" (p. 120). The latter is exaggeration. Both Coke and Asbury were loyal to Wesley and his wishes. Coke was more anxious to become a bishop in the Episcopal Church than to separate from it as indicated, among other things, by his petition to the bishops of that church for consecration, which is noted by Rightmyer. It is interesting to see that it was the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Episcopal General Convention rather than the bishops which rejected Coke's petition. As a matter of fact it was probably a good thing that the two churches did not merge at that time. The Methodists would never have been able to institute such unorthodox but highly successful frontier practices as the camp meeting, and perhaps the Episcopal Church would have been handicapped in its appeal to the elite by the presence of uneducated Methodist preachers. Perhaps the separation of the Methodists and Episcopalians was more of a parting of the ways than the schism which the author emphasizes. How could the Methodists "go into schism" from an Episcopal Church which was completely disorganized and had as yet no episcopacy, from an established church now without the sanction of a government?

Methodist historians will certainly doubt that 1768 "seems to have the greatest weight of authority as the date for the first Methodist preaching by Robert Strawbridge in Maryland" (p. 116).¹

The Anglican Church in Delaware remains of interest chiefly to scholars of colonial Anglicanism and historians of that state, and for them it is a storehouse of factual materials. But it adds little to our previous general picture of the Church of England in the American colonies.

Scarritt College.

William C. Walzer.

THE SOUTH DURING RECONSTRUCTION: 1865-1877

By E. MERTON COULTER. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 197. Pp. 426. \$5.00.

Religion, in terms of any constructive role during the Reconstruction

¹ See for example W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, p. 51, and R. M. Bibbins, *How Methodism Came* (Baltimore, 1945).

period, is completely ignored by Professor Coulter, and his negative judgments seriously distort the picture. The following quotations are typical of his point of view:

"The Northern Methodists . . . became so steeped in the new isms of the age as to make it difficult to distinguish them from a wing of the Republican party.

"After the war Methodists flocked into the South to remake the people in the image of Thaddeus Stevens.

"Though Northern Methodists were in the forefront of the onset against the South, Southerners found that all Carpet-bagging preachers were alike and classed them the same. In the eyes of an Alabaman, 'Perhaps the greatest liars and the most malignant slanders that the north has spewed out upon the South since the close of the war, are the reverend blackguards that have been sent among us as ministers of religion.'

"Though the Southern churches were forced into un-Christian feelings by the rigorous onset of Reconstructionists, political and ecclesiastical, they maintained their old customs and beliefs uncontaminated by the new Northern notions. They held their Sunday School picnics, their ministers dressed in the conventional garb with white cravat and probably a cane, and they continued their ornate political oratory.

"In times of unusual troubles people sometimes turn for consolation or forgetfulness either to religion or to strong drink. Some Southerners tempered their worldly thoughts and interests with more religion, others sought refuge in drink.

"For the mass of Negroes, religion had no relation to mortality . . . Sympathetic Southerners firmly declared that good Negro workmen were ruined by their church-going."

It is curious that the Baptists—the largest group among both Negroes and whites — are not discussed at all. Especially surprising is the comment that the Methodists were the most successful in setting up Negro churches. Coulter points out that the Episcopalians and Presbyterians secured a few Negro congregations, and that the Roman Catholics considered a special campaign among the freedmen, but the Baptists—the most successful of all—are completely ignored. Why, one wonders, should a professor in the University of Georgia—a state where one out of every three persons is a member of a Baptist church—so studiously refrain from mentioning the dominant religious group of his state?

Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Winthrop S. Hudson.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

By ANNA V. RICE. New York: The Woman's Press, 1947. Pp. 299. \$2.00.

In 1894, the World's Young Women's Christian Association was organized to cooperate and promote the separate agencies already established for the service of young women. Behind these agencies was the deeply-felt need to minister Christian protection and encouragement to the growing swarms of young women in industry and business in the world's large cities. The propulsion came from Anglo-Saxon evangelical religion. For over fifty years the movement has spread geographically, and advanced in influence and significance. No student of Christian ecumenics should fail to take cognizance of this half century of life which Miss Anna V. Rice presents in this scholarly study.

The cohesion of this world-wide movement may be accounted for by several factors, not the least of them the succession of secretaries with organizational ingenuity and with the health and hardihood to travel, and travel everywhere and at all times. Two world wars would seem to be enough to explode any world movement not deeply grounded and capably led. These secretaries have been largely the contribution of our nation to the moment. Europe and especially England have given largely of titled and wealthy officers, women of devout spirit, generous with time and the spending of energy and influence. The London base of world operations (1894-1930) was followed by the Geneva (1930-to date), although through troubled war years Washington housed the world staff. The ties with the churches have always been close, and the basic religious motivation has never been played down, despite some flexibility in adaptation from land to land. Work in Lutheran Scandinavia and in Catholic Latin America, to say nothing of the movement in the Eastern Orthodox world, has presented problems and produced differing organizational patterns.

The Constitution of 1898 begins in a manner similar to that of the World Council of Churches, with reference to "the Lord Jesus Christ as . . . God and Saviour" (p. 271). But one notes that the 1930 document, amended in 1941, abandons the bold Christ-God formula and speaks of "Jesus Christ His only Son as Lord and Saviour" (p. 276). The basis of membership has called forth much discussion over the years. But the achievement of unity within diversity should be of service to the builders of the World Council of Churches.

The concern of the Y.W.C.A. with economic and social and international problems has inspired many observers of the movement. This may be studied in Miss Rice's volume. Let me just commend one more feature, and that not a negligible one, namely, the numerous photos of women of character, whose faces glow from within.

Andover-Newton Theological School.

John W. Brush.

RELIGION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Edited by VERGILIUS FERM. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1948.
Pp. xv, 470. \$5.00.

This series of twenty-seven essays on as many contemporary phases of religion, usually by adherents of each, together with the editor's preface setting forth the purpose of the volume as well as his estimate of it, is not a book on denominations, but on the larger divisions of religion. For instance, Judaism is represented under three heads: Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist. There is nothing, however, on Orthodox Judaism, although it is referred to in two of these essays.

The eleven major Oriental creeds constitute the bulk of the work. The main stream of the Christian tradition falls into four categories: Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Conservative Protestantism, and Anglo-Catholicism. Peculiarly American faiths portrayed are: Latter Day Saints, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The Liberal religion receives three chapters (Liberal Protestantism, Ethical Culture, and Naturalistic

Humanism), as also does the Dissenting tradition (Quakers, Swedenborgians, and Salvation Army).

In view of the inclusion of Ethical Culture and Naturalistic Humanism, it is unfortunate that the editor excluded statements on the much more vital faiths of our time, such as Communism and Nationalism, especially since they meet his definition of religion as "the expression of man's belief and commitment, fixed with emotion, to what he takes to be life's ultimate meaning and the destiny of himself, his fellowmen and of those not yet born" (p. viii). It is contradictory to say they are "characteristic of the twentieth century," but are "not peculiar to our day" (p. v, note). Since the concept of nationality, arising in the high Middle Ages, has reached its culmination only today, I fail to understand how Nationalism could have appeared much earlier. And since Communism is a result of the Industrial Revolution, it too has not and could not have appeared before now.

A compilation is difficult of review, except after the manner of a catalogue. It is also of necessity somewhat unequal. In this one the clearest expositions are the chapters on Buddhism, Roman Catholicism, Conservative Protestantism, Anglo-Catholicism, Latter Day Saints, Christian Science, and Jehovah's Witnesses. A valuable purpose is served by giving us a world-wide survey, unlimited by continent, race, or culture — an excellent cross-section of some religious ideas which affect some people today.

University of Mississippi.

J. Allen Cabaniss.

LABOR'S RELATION TO CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

By LISTON POPE and others. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. Pp. 182. \$2.50.

A few short months ago Professor Joseph Fletcher of Episcopal Theological Seminary published some findings concerning the class status of the churches in America. Protestant churches in the city turned out to be preeminently middle and upper class, while the vast majority of Roman Catholic membership was proletarian. Not a single member of the American hierarchy had a father who was a college graduate.

Professor Pope of Yale Divinity School is one of the new Protestant churchmen who has studied and dealt effectively with the problems confronted by American Protestantism which is losing touch with "the people of the dirt." He is a leader in the Religion and Labor Foundation, and in this volume published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies he presents a number of most interesting addresses by religious and labor leaders concerned to bridge the gap.

As Christian thinkers, the labor men perform remarkably well — with a good deal more profound sense of life's ambiguities than generally shown by clergymen who write popularly. The semi-autobiographical pieces by Harry Read, Alfred Hoffmann, and Nelson Cruikshank are especially good.

University of Michigan.

Franklin H. Littell.

CHURCH AND STATE

By EVARTS B. GREEN. Indianapolis: National Foundation Press, 1947.
Pp. 48. \$1.00.

A FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE

By FRANK J. KLINGBERG. *Idem.* Pp. 66. \$1.00.

These two booklets in the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship Series are irenic popularizations of some aspects of the American religious way in the interest of understanding between upwards of 350 American sects.

Church and State, based upon the author's long specialization in this area, is a *multum in parvo* pamphlet brought right down to the United States Supreme Court decision in the Everson case.

A Free Church in a Free State sometimes fails to discover the more pertinent elements in a situation; for example: the discussion of Calvinism (pp. 4ff.) betrays no acquaintance with W. S. Hudson's critical revision of traditional interpretation in his *John Ponet* (see also *Church History*, 1946, p. 191; *Crozer Quarterly*, Jan., 1948, p. 82.) The reference to early Baptist support of "separation of church and state" (p. 18) is quite erroneous, since the English Baptists were definitely for theocracy and colonial Baptists, including Backus, were for "distinction." The separation principle as far as Baptists are concerned was limited to Baptists in the United States (Moehlman, *School and Church: The American Way*, p. 146, note 21).

The section on American Catholicism (p. 28) fails to mention the essential point that up to November 3, 1908, American Catholicism was a "mission" under *de Propaganda Fide*. The histories of O'Gorman, Shea, and Maynard are conspicuous by their absence, and the honest, massive three volume biography of Bishop McQuaid by Zwierlein, which contains such astounding inside data on the conflicts of the late nineties when Liberalism in American Catholicism was snuffed out and "Americanism" defeated and destroyed, we also missed. But without knowledge of all this, American Catholicism cannot be comprehended (see especially, Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism*, XXV to XXVII).

The description of the "social gospel" (p. 47) is much out of focus (see *Crozer Quarterly*, January, 1946, pp. 34-50).

Since Greene, *Church and State* (p. 44) has a footnote on the Everson case, it seems a pity that *A Free Church in a Free State* should have failed to quote even one of the half-dozen strong affirmations of the principles of the "complete and permanent separation of church and state" found therein. The main point in that decision is that "no establishment of religion," by unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court, has now become "a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach."

University of Rochester.

Conrad Henry Moehlman.

IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES

By RICHARD M. WEAVER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. 187. \$2.75.

This is a sentimental version of Henry Adams' thesis that we are living at the end of a centrifugal age. The crisis in history was the growth of nominalism in the fourteenth century and the subsequent, increasing repudiation of the reality of form. The barbarians with their "Whig theory of history" (the doctrine of evolution) have at last destroyed "culture" and are practicing their arts of immediate and sensational "knowledge," of "fragmentation and obsession," of egotism and of equality. Unlike Adams, however, Mr. Weaver thinks salvation can be found by a return to "the metaphysical dream" of transcendental idealism, to "hierarchy," and to dead center. He seems to think that this indicates a sense of direction, and has apparently not been informed that the universe lost its center long ago. Love of "hierarchy" and "symbolism," too, is not so much a direction as a "deep respect for forms" (p. 23) without much discrimination between good and bad forms. This kind of "culture" is clearly mere gentility; were the essay of sufficient dignity to support the occasional quotations from Burke and Matthew Arnold which adorn it, it might pass as a piece of belated Victorian literature, but as it is, it amounts to little more than a dogmatic and tiresome reassertion of a metaphysical nightmare, which may possibly be a dream but is certainly not a vision. It is, in fact, self-condemned: "The imposition of this ideational pattern upon conduct relieves us of the direful recourse to pragmatic justification" (p. 22).

The last three chapters are on a somewhat higher level and contain some genuine criticisms on the subjects of property, language, and justice respectively. In general the author is more at home in the art of Jeremiad preaching than in the philosophy of history. Were his pages less devoted to sentiments and more to ideas they would have more consequences.

Columbia University.

Herbert W. Schneider.

WELLSPRINGS OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

Edited by F. ERNEST JOHNSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. 241. \$2.50.

These essays by sixteen different authors were originally delivered as addresses before the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. The editor defines their common purpose as an examination of the various forms by which Americans have tried to express the values in the democratic tradition.

The book should logically be divided into four parts: (1) four historical studies of Puritanism, the dissenting churches in the colonies, the religious views of the founding fathers, and the Enlightenment as seen in Jefferson's thought; (2) seven chapters defining the distinctive qual-

ity of the American spirit evident in the characteristic emphases of American social thought, philosophy, literature, education and art; (3) four analyses of the contemporary struggle for freedom in America, the struggle of the individual against the determinism of an industrial culture, and the battles of women, Negroes, and labor for just recognition; (4) a concluding essay by the editor on the present spiritual role to which America is called.

Many of the authors of this volume are well-known as being thoroughly conversant with the subjects they are called upon to discuss. J. T. McNeill, R. H. Gabriel, O. F. Nolde, L. Finkelstein, J. H. Randall, C. H. Tobias, and M. Starr are among those contributing. Nevertheless, the book suffers from the uneven quality of the writing, and the extreme diversity in topics and methods of treatment. The essays range all the way from detached historical studies to warm defenses of social causes. Through these rapid shifts in mood and topic, three themes, however, recur: the continuing struggle for liberty in America, the growth and flowering of the pragmatic attitude and method, and general confidence in the American way of doing and thinking. A brief summary of the chapters by Herbert Schneider, Harold Rugg, Odell Shepard, and F. Ernest Johnson may suggest how informative and alive these essays are at their best.

In his description of the Puritan tradition, Schneider says that the first settlers in New England saw themselves as a chosen people sent to the wilderness to institute a "Bible commonwealth." The pressure, however, of financial obligations to English stockholders and the presence in their midst of commercial adventurers meant that money-making was a prominent concern from the first. Thus the Puritan came to live in two worlds, that of dependence on divine grace and that of dependence on self in the competition of trade. When Yankee energy and thrift brought prosperity, the dependence on grace receded before complacency and the elevation of the virtue of self-reliance. The Enlightenment faith in the power of rational man to improve himself and his environment also contributed to the death of Puritanism.

These characteristics dominant in the descendants of the Puritans appear in more unrestrained form in what Rugg defines as the spirit of the frontier. American life, he declares, can best be characterized by the phrase "Manifest Destiny," "a feeling of limitless opportunity and capacity both in the people and in the continent." Associated with this confidence, he suggests, are the traits of the American pragmatic mind, "a coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; . . . practical inventiveness, alertness in finding expedients; in general a masterful grasp of the material life." These traits of mind lie behind the most original contribution of America to the intellectual life of the last century, its philosophy and psychology of experience. By this contribution, thinking men have been turned away from the dictates of authority toward the objective observation, and a naturalistic interpretation of man, and a functional view of social institutions and art.

As another aspect of American pragmatism, both Randall and Shepard note the American genius at developing methods and techniques, but

Shepard insists that this is incomplete spiritual equipment. He comments on Americans' blind faith in activity for its own sake, their lack of concern with ultimate ends. This mood, he declares, is actually a proof of our youth, of our ignorance of ourselves. Although we pride ourselves on our hard-headed materialism, we are in reality a highly idealistic people and should acknowledge it. Rugg notes another disturbing aspect of American immaturity, its inexperience in social control of the individual. He attributes to the lack of such control the blights in our recent history in the form of depressions, discrimination against minorities, industrial inefficiency, and war. Predicting an increased socialization of "quantity production of standardized goods and services," he fears lest mature individuality with its respect for others' dignity and its own creative drive be lost in a growing collectivism.

Johnson's concluding essay is concerned with the international aspect of this problem of freedom and control. He notes various evidences, in the relations of the United States to our countries, of its spiritual unhealth; for instance, our faith in the naked power of the atomic bomb and our condescending philanthropy toward our materially impoverished allies. Johnson does not see reason for reassurance in the past realization of American manifest destiny. The flaw in this concept, he says, is that there is a "spurious guarantee in our high purposes that we will use our power for the benefit of mankind." The only adequate conception of national destiny, in Johnson's view, is that outline by the Hebrew prophets, "an election to discipline and sacrifice."

This book, for all its kaleidoscopic coverage of American culture, cannot fail to provoke profound concern over the spiritual equipment with which we as a people face future events.

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

David E. Swift.

CONFLICTS OF POWER IN MODERN CULTURE

Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, R. M. MACIVER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. Pp. 703. \$6.50.

Reviewing a book with sixty-two chapters and sixty-two authors is much like reviewing a Sunday School picnic. All have come for much the same reason, but there the unity ends. In a sense this is what was intended by the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion. The seventh symposium was organized around the problem of power in modern culture, but the papers contributed to the Conference and now published are by anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, economists, educational experts, political scientists, psychologists, and so on through the entire roster of the social scientists, with engineers, religious leaders, physicists, astronomers, and professors of Arabic thrown in for good measure. The result is a highly informing and sometimes almost fascinating glimpse into the way in which modern scholars approach one of the crucial problems of our civilization.

The questions submitted by the Conference to the contributors were: "How can we retain the essential advantages of our civilization, including

its scientific and material assets, and yet bring the quest for power and the tendency toward aggression under control? Can we reorient men's minds, through influencing their cultural environment from infancy, so that they will find fulfilment in achievement, rather than in the credit and recognition of achievement?"

As the editors point out in their Preface, the majority opinion probably gives "more precedence to ideas and ideals than to economic or material forces as sources of power." All are agreed that extreme manifestations of power in society must be checked. Many look toward education and toward international agreements of one kind or another for this result, although the ugly possibility that these may not be enough intrudes in a sharp footnote by Bertrand Russell to a paper on "Technological Change and Cultural Intregation": "I am fully persuaded that nothing short of an imminent threat of war during the next few years will persuade Stalin to allow the human race to go on existing."

The volume contains some very interesting papers which are related to the main subject in the most tenuous way. There is, for example, an article on the teaching of democracy to German POWs which will astonish a good many people who took for granted that Americans would do this kind of thing badly. There is a discussion of the Eastern Orthodox Church and its part in the international situation which will be news to most political historians and even to some who are more familiar with the churches. The student of the contemporary scene will find enough such information scattered through the book to make his search worth-while.

Primarily, of course, the value of the collection of papers is in the discussion of a major social and political problem from so many points of view. The drives toward aggressiveness within the individual, the forces within society which make for the exaltation of power, the nature of economic and political power, the power problems within any modern society, the international aspects of the problem since the atom bomb: all these are discussed by men, most of whom have something to say. A good many people other than scholars should read this book in order to see both the limitations and the possibilities of the social sciences when brought to bear upon immediate problems.

Southern Methodist University.

Umphrey Lee.

GRASS ROOTS HISTORY

By THEODORE C. BLEGEN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947. Pp. 266. \$3.00.

Dean Blegen believes that history—like charity—begins at home. Is it not true, he asks, that for every individual the first awareness is of his own household, then of his neighborhood, city, country, and state? In keeping with this argument, he contends that the pivot of history is not the uncommon, but the usual, and that the people are the true makers of history. It follows, therefore, that too much emphasis has been given to conventional political history and too little attention to those simple, small, everyday elements which constitute the soil of grass roots history.

To reinforce this thesis, the author has drawn generously from two fields of research in which he feels at home — American immigration, especially from Norway, and regional history, particularly that of Minnesota and the upper Midwest. Many of his chapters originally appeared in journals—particularly in *Minnesota History*—but they have now been revised and recast into book form. Based upon the literature of the unlettered, upon thousands of “America letters” sent to the old folks in Norway, upon newspapers, prosaic advertisements, and diaries of humble folks, these chapters help to reconstruct the culture of a people and increase our sense of social awareness.

Dean Blegen deals mainly with two subjects. One is the story of Norwegian immigration. Much has been written on the conquest of the frontier, by such writers as Rølvaag and Hamsun. These men have emphasized the factor of hardship, but Dean Blegen believes that the key factor in understanding the Scandinavian immigrant is that of change. To illustrate the transition made by the immigrants, the writer shows the adjustment to the customs of the new environment, the changes and blending that occurred in language. There is real insight to be obtained from the story of the immigrant child who returned from school with the observation: “Just think, Papa, the schoolma’am calls us ‘Ladies and Gentlemen.’” What pedagogical heresy!

The role of the minister among immigrants is clearly revealed from the several thousand “America letters” which Dean Blegen has collected in Norway. The preacher was a welcome guest in every home, eagerly sought for weddings, and summoned in times of sickness and death. From the old world he had brought some of the pietism and puritanism which he helped to transplant in the new world. In the process, he occasionally struck poor soil. One smiles at the boy in the confirmation class who was asked by the parson: “Dost thou renounce the Devil and all of his works?” Unaware of the meaning of the verb, the terrified boy answered in quick relief, “No,” to the horror of the tense congregation.

The second main subject is regionalism, especially illustrated by the history of the upper Midwest. The reader sees the pioneers traveling to Minnesota by cart, or by boat up the Mississippi, settling on the soil, establishing roots, building homes, plowing the soil. Soon frontier libraries appear, hospitals slowly are established, and communities evolve. Then follow the politicians who “moved among men,” the scientists who came, saw, and recorded, and the curious visitor who brought back to the East some new and interesting stories.

In a concluding chapter, Dean Blegen draws from his presidential address delivered in 1944 to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He pleads for more research in social and cultural subjects, more community and college histories, more attention to the role of human folk. He condemns that “inverted provincialism” which is imitative, artificial, and inadequate, but he encourages the provincialism which goes to the grass roots of our culture. To further this kind of research, he urges a clearing house to insure better integration of monographic studies; he stresses the need for cooperation, despite the long-established tradition of individualism in scholarship. Above all, he emphasizes the importance of

narrowing the gap between the people and the scholars. This can be accomplished only if historians will become cured of that industrial disease—pedantic, lifeless writing.

Grass Roots History is proof that Dean Blegen has practised what he preaches.

Northwestern University.

Leland H. Carlson.

THE CHURCH TODAY AND TOMORROW

Edited by DAVID J. WIEAND. The Bethany Faculty Series no. 1. Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1947. Pp. 117. \$1.00.

According to President Rufus D. Bowman's Introduction, this small volume is composed of papers from faculty members of Bethany Theological Seminary, the leading seminary of the Church of the Brethren. It is to represent the fruitage of some of the thinking and discussions of the teachers of religion of this well-known school. Its purpose is to share with ministers and laity (mainly of the Church of the Brethren) the creative task of interpreting anew the teachings and the work of the church. To be sure, it is a church which finds itself today in full transition toward conformity with the surrounding world, as Jesse H. Ziegler has so clearly demonstrated in his *Broken Cup* (Elgin, 1942). It is, therefore, understandable that this church (like most churches today) needs a rethinking of its place and function in the world of our time. Whether this rather modest volume is sufficient for this task shall not be judged; in any case it is a good and representative record of the present-day viewpoints of this particular denomination.

W. W. Slabaugh presents the longest essay of this symposium, dealing with the church in general (28 pages). In tune with the tradition of his denomination, he stresses particularly two features: the *Koinonia* of the Spirit, and the *Agape*, these two making up the contents of the "Body of Christ" concept. *Agape* means sufficient, active brotherhood (and more specifically also the love-feast as the expression of such brotherhood), and it has its roots in the communion or *Koinonia* of the Spirit. The author feels strongly that the first love has grown cold in his church and that an inner revival is highly needed. Liberal Christianity cannot but end in disillusionment. To see the need, however, is one thing, to find the way to the deeper roots, the true spiritual powers, is another thing. It is not possible without a strong prophetic vision.

Rufus D. Bowman's essay on "The Church of the Brethren and the State" is informing and clear, though not too dynamic. It represents in general a summary of the author's larger volume, *The Church of the Brethren and War* (Elgin, 1944). The problem of a historic peace church (such as the one of the Brethren) with regard to citizenship and obligations in wartime is concisely formulated. As long as the state was conceived mainly in a negative way, no serious conflicts arose. Since the two World Wars, however, this country has changed into a positive, demanding state where conflicts with consistent Christian believers necessarily arise. Bowman characteristically closes in saying that "a peace-minded

church in a militarized nation may live under the shadow of suffering." This is good old-evangelical teaching. Jesse H. Ziegler discusses "The Understanding of the Unconscious and the Ministration of the Church," a very opportune subject in the education of seminary students, though not specific with this particular church. "Christianity and Religious Illiteracy" is discussed by D. J. Wieand, dealing with religious instruction to the rising generation through church, home, and school, "Mission to the World" (W. M. Beahm), and a fifteen-page typological survey of Church History since the Reformation by F. E. Mallott, round up this unpretentious but well-done volume.

Western Michigan College of Education.

Robert Friedmann.

CHURCH, LAW, AND SOCIETY

By GUSTAF AULÉN. New York: Scribners, 1948. Pp. 114. \$2.00.

This book, small if measured by pages, is great in its significance. For it heralds a new era in Lutheran thinking. Gustaf Aulén is in the forefront of Lutheran dogmatians. Before he became Bishop of Strengnäs he was professor for many years at the University of Lund, and as a theological teacher and author he has had a great influence in Scandinavia and northern Europe generally. His *Christus Victor* turned a new page in the history of the interpretation of the doctrine of the Atonement, and his *Christian Faith* (now in process of printing, in an American edition) delivers theology from subservience to other sciences in the exposition of what faith knows.

The lectures comprising the present volume were delivered in America in 1947 on the Hewitt Foundation, at Andover-Newton and Union Theological Seminaries. Their main theme is the responsibility of the Church for the sense of justice. It is a new day in evangelical theology when a representative spokesman asserts that "the fact that the Church has been entrusted with, and has responsibility for, the universal Law of God is the most fundamental reason why the Church never can be allowed to surrender to indifference towards Society" (p. 45). That Law is interpreted broadly enough to include also the Gospel as the message of God's love to man, but it is far different from current conceptions of natural law which are proposed as bases of justice today. The author is too good a Lutheran to confound law with man's justification—in this realm man has to depend upon the unmerited, pure grace of God. But he is an uncommon Lutheran when he refuses to let the forgiven sinner relieve himself of concern for the law. We are especially thankful for his emphasis on the fact that even regenerated Christians do not measure up to the law. "The more or less perfectionist outlook corresponds neither to the biblical view nor to reality" (52). Bishop Aulén thinks that Pietism had much to do with isolating the Christian community from the world. And the result was a weakening of the place that the Law of God has over all humanity, outside as well as inside, Christian circles.

The present crisis has resulted from the rejection of God's Law. "The process of the dissolution was for some time concealed through the thought,

based upon the idea of *lex naturae*, that justice was a metaphysical element that had authority in itself. When this metaphysical aspect by and by disappeared through critical analysis, justice could not but lose its supreme authority, and finally nothing was left but only the different human interests struggling for their different 'rights'" (26). In this crisis there is ground for hope because the Church, as in Norway and Germany, has awakened to its duty, and begun to interpret the law as a command "to care for the human fellowship" (85). From one point of view, "the Church's first duty is to do all she can to strengthen the sense of justice in the world" (89).

Bishop Aulén has struck new and fundamental notes in this treatise. It is to be hoped that they will find resonance in all parts of the Church.

Augustana College.

Conrad Bergendoff.

ORTHODOX STATEMENTS ON ANGLICAN ORDERS

Edited by E. R. HARDY, JR. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1946. Pp. xxiii, 72. \$1.00.

In 1922 a Synod under the Patriarch of Constantinople decided that Anglican Orders have "the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches." Patriarch Meletios then requested the heads of all Orthodox autocephalous Churches to express their opinions, "so that through the decisions of the parts, the mind of the whole Orthodox world on this important question might be known." Almost immediately confirmatory decisions were announced by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and by the Archbishop of Cyprus. Elsewhere recognition has been slower in coming, various delegations being employed meanwhile to clarify issues. By 1930 the Patriarchate of Alexandria was able to reach an affirmative position, and in 1936 the Synod of Rumania. The Synod of the Church of Greece in 1939 decided to recognize in particular cases "by Economy" (i. e., as an indulgence, not a right) the ordination of priests "who come over to Orthodoxy," it being stated at the same time that no sacraments administered outside the Orthodox Church appear "valid without qualifications." Patriarch Sergius of Moscow expressed his personal view in similar terms in 1935, though the Russian Church has taken no official action. The one point common in all these statements is the willingness to allow to Anglican Orders the same validity as to Roman Catholic, but with a strong insistence from Greece and Russia that no non-orthodox Orders can be really valid short of the reunion of the Churches.

In the story of the ecumenical movement such modest gains are significant. Even more significant, probably, are the theological issues which have had to be clarified in the process. (For a survey which minimizes the gains and exaggerates the theological difficulties remaining, see James L. Monks, S. J., "Relations between Anglicans and Orthodox: Their Theological Development," *Theological Studies*, September, 1946). The Orthodox Churches have not viewed Order apart from Faith. They have asked for assurance that the Anglican Church considers Holy Orders

to be a sacrament in which divine grace is received, and that the Anglican Church teaches the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice as explained in the Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Pope Leo XIII. These assurances have been given; also statements on the nature of Justification, the authority of Tradition to "complete" Scripture, the recognition of seven "mysteries" as witnessed to by Scripture and Tradition, and the reality of the Eucharist as a perpetual presentation of the sacrifice on Calvary, the consecrated elements remaining "the Body and Blood of Our Lord as long as these Eucharistic elements exist."

American Presbyterians, who hope for an eventual union with American Episcopalians, should not overlook these doctrinal commitments made with the approval either of Lambeth or of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. To overlook them is to risk misunderstanding. In particular it is to be noted that the Anglicans in their discussions with the Orthodox have constantly appealed to the Book of Common Prayer as furnishing authoritative doctrinal commentary (superior to the 39 Articles) as to the meaning of the Lambeth Quadrilateral; and that it is a Quadrilateral thus clarified that has disposed the Orthodox to grant the recognition so far given. The Orthodox are convinced that *conditions* of ordination "not found among the followers of Luther and Calvin . . . are found among the Anglicans" (Professor Komnenos, p. 40 in Hardy's collection of documents). This being the situation, a future revision of the Prayer Book in any direction uniquely Presbyterian would seem to be difficult without breaking faith with the Orthodox. That this fact may be honestly faced, Professor Hardy's collection of *Statements* should be widely circulated.

Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. Roy W. Battenhouse.

A BAPTIST BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECTION A

Edited by EDWARD C. STARR. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1947. Pp. 240. \$2.50.

The significance of this volume cannot be fully comprehended apart from circumstances leading to publication.

The editor, trained in library science at Columbia University and in divinity at Colgate-Rochester, has been since 1935 curator of the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Hamilton, N. Y., the largest of American Baptist historical collections. His purpose in undertaking this curatorship was to place himself in an ideal position to begin the compilation of a master catalog of Baptist authors "everywhere, from 1609 to date." This meant the world as scope regardless of country or language of publication. It also meant inclusion, with some reservations (*see* Introduction, p. 9), of "writings of Baptists, not only on Baptist topics, but also on topics of general theological, philosophical, historical, and social content." As the research progressed, the inclusion of still another type of material seemed imperative, *vis.*, of publications "against Baptists." Thus the full printed title of the project has come to read, *A BAPTIST*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Being a register of printed material by and about Baptists; including works written against the Baptists.

The search for materials outside the Samuel Colgate collection would test any bibliographer's endurance. The initial step was consultation of the many specialized Baptist bibliographies, encyclopedias, histories, indexes, and *Who's Whos*. Then came the checking of the items so discovered against the general catalogs of Baptists theological seminaries and colleges in the United States and Canada; the American Imprints Inventory; the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress; the British Museum Catalogue; and kindred sources revealing library locations of materials.

The volume under review speaks for itself as to results. Although this is only "Section A" of the total bibliography, that is, the volume incorporating all entries beginning with the letter "A," over 2400 separate entries are included. Close to one-sixth of these issue from official American Baptist groups: the American Baptist Foreign Mission, Home Mission and Publication Societies. The number of publications accredited to certain individual writers is also large: e. g. the works of Joseph Angus, Alfred Anthony, Margaret Applegarth, William Ashmore, and Robert Aspland. Still there remains an impressive array of rarer items which will open new avenues of research to interested historians.

To facilitate discovery of the rarer items in the alphabetical arrangement, there is appended a "Chronological Register" of items in the "A" section printed through the year 1700; also, an "Index" to "joint authors, translators, Baptist publishers, as well as distinctive titles, and subjects." Familiar or rare, the various items are located in American, British, and Canadian libraries where they can be consulted in the original or photostated as research conditions demand. For the last contribution alone all Baptists, as well as those whose studies cross Baptists paths, are greatly in debt to Mr. Starr, and to his chief helper, Mrs. Starr.

The debt will increase proportionately with the publication of the remaining twenty volumes of the series (B to Z).

Divinity School, McMaster University.

Gaylord P. Albaugh.

BOOK NOTICES

ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS: ST AUGUSTINE. FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY. Trans. by LOUIS A. ARAND. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1947. Pp. 165. \$2.50.

This is the first separate edition in English of Augustine's *Enchiridion*. The annotation is competent.

THE QUAKER MESSAGE. Compiled by SIDNEY LUCAS. Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill Publications, 1948. Pp. 90.

The Quaker message is set forth by weaving together extracts from the writings of representative Quaker leaders, and from corporate expressions of the Quaker faith. With the exception of quotations from Fox and Barclay, practically all the selections are drawn from recent or contemporary sources.

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COMPILED BY M. M. HUTCHINS AND J. H. NICHOLS

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- R. M. Crawford, "History as a Science," *Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand*, November, 1947. 153-175.
- G. M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History," *History*, March, 1947. 1-15.
- Thomas A. Cowan, "The Historian and the Philosophy of Science," *Isis*, November, 1947. 11-17.
- John Hazard Wildman, "Lord Acton's Approach to History," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1, 1948. 196-203.

AMONG THE MEMBERS

EDITED BY ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS

- R. W. ALBRIGHT was recently elected president of the Historical Society of the Evangelical United Brethren Church. He is the author of *Two Centuries of Reading, Pa.*, to be published in August, 1948 by the Historical Society of Berks County, Pa.
- CHARLES A. ANDERSON published "Index of Titles and Authors in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1901-1946" and "Letters of William Montague and Amanda White Ferry" in the December, 1947 number of this *Journal*.
- GEORGE B. ARBAUGH has become Dean of Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.
- E. THEODORE BACHMANN was the first American guest professor at the University of Erlangen in June, 1947 and in 1946-47 was liaison officer for the World Council of Churches with the churches of Germany. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1946.
- NELSON R. BURR in February, 1948 gave a lecture before the Connecticut Historical Society on "Abraham Lincoln and Connecticut, as seen in the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers," and has published "Adventures in Parish History" reprinted from the *Episcopal Historical Magazine*.
- EARLE E. CAIRNS has been associate professor in Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill., since 1946. He published "The Puritan Philosophy of Education" in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Fall, 1947 and "A Christian Approach to the Interpretation of History" in *Crisis Christology*, Spring, 1948.
- JOHN DANIEL published in 1947 *The Church and Labor-Management Problems of Our Day* (Obrana Press, Scranton, Pa.).
- A. T. DE GROOT has been appointed to a staff lectureship in Overdale College, England, in the fall of 1948. With Benjamin H. Gavitt he published in April, 1948, *Eighty Years in Iowa: A Biography*.
- LAWRENCE D. FOLKEMER is executive officer of the department of religion in George Washington University.
- ROBERT FORTENBAUGH published "Ecclesiastical Orders in American Colonial Lutheranism" in the *Lutheran Church Quarterly* for May 1947. This was the Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession (Art. XIV) at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, in May, 1947.
- COLBY D. HALL published in 1947 *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Texas Christian University Press).
- E. R. HARDY, JR., has published these articles: "The New Ordinations in South India," *The Living Church*, October, 1947; "The Union in South India," *ibid.*, February, 1948; "South India and the Anglican

Communion," *ibid.*, April, 1948; "South India and the Anglican Communion: A Perspective," *Christendom*, Winter, 1948.

CHARLES A. HAWLEY is professor and head of the department of language and literature in Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas.

MILTON J. HOFFMAN has been made by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands an Officer of the Order of Orange Nassau.

ELMER E. S. JOHNSON since 1947 has been pastor emeritus of the Hereford Mennonite Church, Bally, Pa. In February, 1948, he delivered in Hartford a memorial address for Edward Warren Capen, founder and dean of the Kennedy School of Missions.

H. O. A. KEINATH published *My Church: The Story of the Missouri Synod* in 1947 and "The Concept of 'Fear' in the Old Testament" in the *Concordia Theological Monthly* for February, 1948.

MARSHALL M. KNAPPEN has been appointed professor of political science in the University of Michigan. He is the author of *And Call It Peace* (University of Chicago Press, 1947).

RALPH E. KNUDSEN published in 1947 *Christian Beliefs* (Judson Press).

CORNELIUS KRAHN lectured at ministers' conferences in Winnipeg and Saskatoon, Canada, in March, 1948 on subjects in church history and Mennonite history.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE spent three months of the fall and winter, 1947-48, in lecturing in English and Scottish universities. He received the degree of D.D. from Oxford. He also taught in the Ecumenical Institute at Celigny, Switzerland.

HAROLD LINDSELL is professor of missions in Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena. He will publish during the summer of 1948 *A Christian Philosophy of Missions*.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER became professor emeritus in Princeton Theological Seminary in 1945. Since then he has been professor of church history in Temple University, Philadelphia. He is the author of "Presbyterianism" in *Nelson's Revised Encyclopaedia*, 1947, and department editor in religion for *Collier's Encyclopaedia*, to be publisher in 1948.

JAMES F. MACLEAR has been appointed assistant professor of European history in the University of Minnesota at Duluth.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY published "The Formation of the Catholic Minority in the United States, 1820-1860" in the *Review of Politics*, January, 1948.

JOHN T. MCNEILL published in 1947 *Books of Faith and Power* (Harpers).

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT of Manchester, England, has been elected Fellow of the Royal Society Antiquarian of Ireland.

THOMAS MURRAY received the degree of Ph.D., from Yale University in 1947.

PAUL NYHOLM delivered an address on "Towering Persons in the Church of Denmark" in Luther Seminary, St. Paul, in February, 1948.

RONALD E. OSBORN has published *Ely Vaughn Zollars: Teacher of Preachers, Builder of Colleges* (Christian Board of Publication, St. Louis, 1947).

ALBERT C. OUTLER has been appointed Dwight Professor of Theology in the Yale Divinity School.

WILHELM PAUCK is now (May, 1948) teaching in the University of Frankfurt. He is one of seven professors of the University of Chicago chosen to teach for six months at Frankfurt, under the arrangement financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Recent periodical articles of his are "Roman Catholicism and Protestantism," *Theology Today*, January, 1948, and "The Roman Catholic Critique of Protestantism," *ibid.*, April 1948.

PAUL SCHUBERT is professor of early Christian literature in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. He is the author of "Urgent Tasks for New Testament Research" in *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow*, edited by Harold R. Willoughby (University of Chicago Press, 1947).

ARMIN G. WENG has been appointed president of Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary.

Notice of changes in position or rank and publications and lectures of professional interest should be sent to Professor R. H. Nichols, 21 Claremont Avenue, New York 27, N. Y.

IN MEMORIAM

DEMETRIUS BENJAMIN ZEMA, S.J.

Demetrius Benjamin Zema was born on August 28, 1886, in Reggio, Italy and came to this country with his parents at the age of twelve. He had his schooling in New York and graduated in 1910 from St. Francis Xavier College there. For two years he taught classics in the Brooklyn College Preparatory School. He entered the Jesuit Order at Rochampton, England in 1912. After taking philosophical studies at Genert in Holland, he taught for two years each in Loyola College, Montreal, and Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts. His theological studies were carried on at Woodstock College, Maryland, in 1920-22 and at Valkenburg, Holland, in the two years following, during which he was ordained priest in 1923. He completed his studies as a Jesuit at Manresa, Spain in 1924-25.

Father Zema taught in the faculty of the graduate school of Fordham University from 1925 to 1936. In this time he was also chaplain at Hart's Island City Prison, where he built a chapel for the prisoners. After three years on leave of absence for research in medieval history at Cambridge University, where he received the degree of Ph.D. in 1939, he returned to Fordham in 1939 to be head of the department of medieval history in the graduate school and general editor of the *Fordham University Studies*. In 1942 he was appointed head of the department of history. His teaching was interrupted in 1944 by his becoming rector of Our Lady of Martyrs Tertian-ship at Auriesville, N. Y. In 1947 he resumed his place at Fordham University, to hold it until his death on February 1, 1948.

Father Zema had been a member of our Society since 1941. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a member of the Mediaeval Academy of America, the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association. At the time of his death he was engaged in translating Augustine's *City of God* for the new all-American edition of the Fathers.

KARL GEORGE MANZ

Karl George Manz died on August 30, 1947, in his sixty-fourth year, at Austin, Texas. After studying in Concordia Seminary at Springfield, Illinois, he was pastor of Salem Lutheran Church at White Hall, Texas. In 1906 he began a pastorate of thirty-eight years in St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Austin, where he stood high in the esteem and affection of his people. For the same time he was pastor of Lutheran students in the University of Texas. He was himself a student in the University, gaining the degrees of B.A. and M.A. In the Texas District of the Missouri Lutheran Synod he was chairman of its Board of Education for seventeen years and secretary of the board which established Concordia College, and held other important administrative positions. On his retirement from his pastorate in 1944, he devoted himself to Biblical studies, particularly in the Greek text of the Old Testament Apocrypha, and at the time of his death had completed his work for the doctor's degree in the University of Texas.

WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE

William Nathaniel Schwarze, who had been a member of our Society since 1914, and was its president in 1922, died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on March 14, 1948. He was born on January 2, 1875, at Chaska, Minnesota. He graduated in 1894 from the Moravian College in Bethlehem, which in 1910 gave him the degree of Ph.D., and from the Moravian Theological Seminary. Ordained to the ministry in the Moravian Church in 1896, for four years he was pastor at Bruederfeld and Bruederheim, in Alberta, Canada, and then for three years director of the Buxton Grove Theological Seminary for native ministers in Antigua. In 1903 he entered on his service of forty years in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, where he was professor of philosophy and church history, and also the last fifteen years president of the institution. From 1905 Dr. Schwarze was the archivist of the Moravian Church's Northern Province of North America. In this capacity he made important contributions to learning by his administration of the Moravian historical collection at Bethlehem and by translation of manuscripts. He had been president of the Moravian Historical Society and was a member of the American Philosophical

Society. He gave active service in various positions in the civic life of Bethlehem.

Dr. Schwarze was the author of *History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary* (1910) and *John Huss, the Martyr of Bohemia* (1915), and published a translation of David Zeisberger's *History of the North American Indians* (1910).

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

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